

P

modern

THE UNIVERSITY
OF MICHIGAN

DEC 14 1961

THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS

PERIODICAL
READING ROOM

language

VOL. LXXVI, NO. 7, NOVEMBER 1961

notes

-
- 577 The "Ev'ning Dragon" in *Samson Agonistes*: A Reappraisal.
LEE SHERIDAN COX
- 585 Milton's "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso"—Balance, Progression,
or Dichotomy? ELEANOR TATE
- 590 The Context of Marvell's "Hortus" and "Garden."
GEORGE WILLIAMSON
- 598 Dryden's *Mac Flecknoe* and Dekker's *Satiromastix*.
G. BLAKEMORE EVANS
- 601 The Importance of Witty Dialogue in *The School for Scandal*.
J. R. DEJ. JACKSON
- 607 Swinburne's Greek Plays and God, "The Supreme Evil."
H. A. HARGREAVES
- 616 Dialogue and Theme in *Tender is the Night*. WILLIAM F. HALL
- 622 *A Farewell to Arms*: Hemingway and Peele. CLINTON KEELER
- 625 William Blake and Eudora Welty's "Death of a Salesman."
JOHN B. VICKERY
- 632 Jean Bodin and the Beginnings of Voltaire's Struggle for Re-
ligious Tolerance. HENRY HORNIK
- 636 Structure and Symbol in a Poem of Juan Ramón Jiménez.
PAUL R. OLSON

REVIEWS

- 647 JOHN PETER, *A Critique of Paradise Lost* (HANEL G. MACCAFFREY)
 650 ROLAND MUSHAT FRYE, *God, Man, and Satan: Patterns of Christian Thought and Life in Paradise Lost, Pilgrim's Progress, and the Great Theologians* (MERRITT Y. HUGHES)
 654 FRANK E. MANUEL, *The Eighteenth Century Confronts the Gods* (ALBERT J. KUHN)
 657 JEROME BEATY, "Middlemarch" from Notebook to Novel; a Study of George Eliot's Creative Method (BERNARD J. PARIS)
 659 FRED H. HIGGINSON, ed., *Anna Livia Plurabelle; the Making of a Chapter* (MACKIE JARRELL)
 663 JAMES FRANKLIN BEARD, ed., *The Letters and Journals of James Fenimore Coopers*, 2 vols. (THEODORE HORNBERGER)
 665 NORMAN FRIEDMAN, E. E. Cummings, *The Art of His Poetry* (BERNARD BENSTOCK)
 667 WALTER J. SLATOFF, *Quest for Failure; a Study of William Faulkner* (HYATT H. WAGGONER)
 669 HERBERT J. HUNT, *Balzac's Comédie humaine* (RAYMOND GIRAUD)
 671 ALBERT SONNENFELD, *L'Œuvre poétique de Tristan Corbière* (ROBERT CHAMPIGNY)

modern language notes

BRUCE W. WARDROPPER,

General Editor

HENRY HORNIK,

Managing Assistant

DON CAMERON ALLEN
 CHARLES R. ANDERSON
 NATHAN EDELMAN
 STEFAN EINARSSON
 JOHN FRECCERO
 RENÉ N. GIRARD
 J. LIONEL GOSSMAN
 RICHARD H. GREEN
 ANNA G. HATCHER
 HAROLD JANTZ
 WILLIAM H. McCLAIN
 J. HILLIS MILLER
 LAWRENCE J. ROSS
 CHARLES S. SINGLETON
 EARL R. WASSERMAN

Published eight times annually, November through June. Subscription: \$8.00 in the United States; \$15 in Canada; \$8.50 in other countries. Single issue, \$1.50. Subscriptions and other business communications should be sent to The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore 18, Md. Claims for replacement of missing numbers must be received within 3 months (6 months in the case of foreign subscribers) following publication of the number.

Contributors and publishers should send manuscripts and books for review to *Modern Language Notes*, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore 18, Md. Every manuscript should be accompanied by a stamped manila envelope. In preparing manuscripts, contributors are requested to follow the MLA Style Sheet.

Second-class postage paid at Baltimore, Maryland.

modern language notes

VOL. LXXVI, NO. 7, NOVEMBER 1961

805
M69
L3W

The "Ev'ning Dragon" in *Samson Agonistes*: A Reappraisal

The use of the expression "ev'ning Dragon" in *Samson Agonistes*, line 1692, has long exercised critics of the poem. Editors annotate the word *Dragon* as 'snake' or 'serpent.' This evocation of the snake image for the hero and, moreover, the jar of figures when snake metamorphoses into eagle have so disturbed some commentators that they have supposed the passage to contain a printing error.¹ David Masson, however, insists that although "the first impression on reading these lines may be that there is a confusion of metaphor," there is instead "a bold change of metaphor."² But whether one finds confusion or bold change in the metaphor, at least three reasons for dissatisfaction with the snake image still exist: within lines 1692-1695 the image is inaccurate, for as Keightley pointed out long ago, Samson did not steal on the Philistines and kill them one by one;³ in the progression

¹ See, e.g., Thomas Keightley, *The Poems of John Milton* (London, 1859), II, 366, who says, "Calton . . . maintained that Milton must have dictated *And not* [line 1692]. We . . . think the word dictated was *Nor*, for which the amanuensis or the printer substituted *And*."

² *The Poetical Works of John Milton* (London, 1890), III, 617.

³ Yet this interpretation still flourishes in modern editions. M. Y. Hughes, *John Milton, Complete Poems and Major Prose* (New York, 1957), p. 544,

of metaphor from flame and the dragon, to eagle, to flame and the phoenix, the change from snake to eagle, bold or not, sounds a grating note; the snake is an incongruous, indecorous choice of figure for Milton's hero, God's "faithful Champion."

The very fact that the word *Dragon* may have a relation to *Fowl*, *Eagle*, and the "self-begott'n bird" that *snake* does not have suggests that critical imagination may be limiting the word in a manner not intended by Milton. The dragon does not necessarily crawl on his belly. Like the fowl, the eagle, and the phoenix, the dragon may be winged. And Milton may be suggesting in a developing metaphor of winged creatures something far more satisfying in craft and content than critics have found in the prevalent reading of "ev'ning Dragon."

Milton did not always envisage the dragon as the commentators have imagined it in the Samson passage. In the *History of Britain* he writes: ". . . the Danes landing, pillag'd that Monastery, and of Fryers kill'd some, carried away others Captive, sparing neither Preist nor Lay: which many strange thunders and fiery Dragons, with other impressions in the air seen frequently before, were judg'd to fore-signifie."⁴ The words *thunder[s]* and *fiery* which appear in the Samson passage appear here in conjunction with dragons—dragons that are air-borne. In *The Reason of Church Government Urged against Prelaty* Milton describes a dragon as a "mighty sailewing'd monster."⁵ In *Of Reformation in England* he refers to the winged heraldic dragon:⁶ ". . . the stormy bluster of men . . . assailing, by rash and heady *approches*, the impregnable situation of our Liberty and safety, that laught such weak enginry to scorne, such poore drifts to make a *Nationall Warre* of a *Surplice Brabble* . . . and ingage the unattainted Honour of *English Knighthood*, to unfurle the streaming *Red Crosse*, or to reare the horrid *Standard* of those fatall guly

says, "From this image of flame, which closely precedes that of the Phoenix, we go immediately to that of the snake in the chicken-roosts. If we dislike that simile for the slaughter of the Philistines, we are at liberty to murmur with Ezra Pound against Milton's 'asinine bigotry, his beastly Hebraism, the coarseness of his mentality'."

⁴ F. A. Patterson, et al., ed. *The Works of John Milton* (New York, 1941), x, 188.

⁵ Patterson, *Works*, III, Pt. I, 275. In the same passage Milton can envisage this "sailewing'd monster" as "bred up" in "a masse of slime" like "a great Python."

⁶ See *OED*, I, 558. Emma Phipson, *The Animal Lore of Shakespeare's Time* (London, 1883), p. 458, says, "The figures of the heraldic dragon vary considerably. . . . The chief characteristics are the head of a wolf, the body of a serpent, four eagle's feet, bat-like wings, and barbed tongue and tail."

Dragons for so unworthy a purpose."⁷ The word *assailing* which describes those who would have the banner of the dragon raised, like the word *assailant* in the Samson passage, is reminiscent of the language of tournament. In this connection a visual image of a "dragon assailant" conjures up the heraldic device and calls to mind expressions such as *rampant*, *combattant*, *guardant*, especially the heraldic expression *saliant* (or *salient*). The meaning of *assail*, in this sense, is 'to leap at'; a representation of an animal *salient* would show the animal in the act of springing. According to *Boutell's Manual of Heraldry*, *saliant* "is similar to rampant, but has two forefeet up and two hindfeet on the ground."⁸

Milton's use of *dragon* is elastic; and when he uses the word in a metaphor containing winged creatures, it is unwise to eliminate all possibility of an image he makes use of elsewhere. Also, the associations in the passages cited above on dragons of the air are suggestive in relation to the *Samson* image. The fiery dragons in the *History of Britain* are signs of impending disaster. The "mighty sailewing'd monster" is elsewhere in the treatise spoken of as a dragon serving as a weapon of "the just judgment of God."⁹ And the "guly *Dragons*" are war standards. Possibly, by evidence of his use of the word elsewhere, Milton's use of *Dragon* as a figure for Samson is more tasteful, fanciful, and subtle than the annotations would suggest.

However, in relation to Scripture is it necessary to think of the dragon as a snake? In the New Testament the dragon is "that old serpent, called the Devil" (Rev. xii. 9). But in the Old Testament the word is not so consistently nor so unambiguously used. *Dragon* is sometimes coupled with *adder* or *asp* (Psalms xci. 13; Deut. xxxii. 33); it is used synonymously with *whale* (Ezek. xxix. 3; xxxii. 2) and with *leviathan* (Psalms lxxiv. 13, 14; Isa. li. 9), which in one place in the Old Testament is used synonymously with both *serpent* and *dragon* (Isa. xxvii. 1). Though in Job, chapter 41, this dragon of the deep has Samsonian characteristics, still *dragon* appears in passages where *leviathan* (and it, too, is a many-faceted word) cannot be meant. *Dragon* is coupled with the names of birds: "The beast of the field shall honour me, the dragons and the owls" (Isa. xliii. 20);

⁷ Patterson, *Works*, III, Pt. 1, 60-61. In "Il Penseroso," line 59, and in "Obitum Praesulis Eliensis," line 58, Milton speaks of the dragon-yoke of Cynthia. According to the *OED*, I, 558, the mythical dragon was generally represented with wings.

⁸ V. Wheeler-Holahan, rev. and illus. (London, 1931), p. 296.

⁹ Patterson, *Works*, III, 253.

often it is used in passages where there has been a judgment brought on a people, a destruction of them and their buildings: "I will make Samaria as an heap of the field. . . . I will make a wailing like the dragons, and mourning as the owls" (Mic. l. 6-8).¹⁰ In some of the latter descriptions of desolation and judgment (e. g., Isa. xxxiv. 13) *jackal* instead of *dragon* appears in the Revised Version of the Bible.

The meaning of the word in these passages is loose: *dragon* appears generally to serve as a poetic adjunct to "strange punishment," to "heaps" which are "an astonishment." For example, in chapters 30 and 31 of Job, which I cite at some length because of suggestive parallels to the Samson story, the word *dragon* does not elicit any specific image:

And now I am their song, yea, I am their byword. . . . I went mourning without the sun: I stood up, and I cried in the congregation. I am a brother to dragons, and a companion to owls. My skin is black upon me, and my bones are burned with heat. . . . I made a covenant with mine eyes; why then should I think upon a maid? . . . Is not destruction to the wicked? and a strange punishment to the workers of iniquity? . . . If I have walked with vanity . . . Let me be weighed in an even balance, that God may know mine integrity. If my step hath turned out of the way, and mine heart walked after mine eyes If mine heart have been deceived by a woman . . . Then let my wife grind unto another. . . . For this is an heinous crime.

Samson might have spoken all these words. And the word *dragon* here appears to be a poetic, an allegorical reflection of the general context of lamentation and judgment. Samson, who like Job feared he was a byword, went mourning without the sun, asked to be weighed in an even balance, and stood up and cried in the congregation, might in the spirit of Job have declared himself "a brother to dragons and a companion to owls."

So in Scripture, *dragon* does not inevitably elicit a specific snake image. It does, however, in the Old Testament often appear in an account of judgment, of desolation, of physical destruction. Similarly, the word *evening* as a description of animals is a piece in a mosaic of judgment. It appears (with eagle) in lines which might be spoken of Milton's Samson coming before the Philistines: the Chaldeans "whose judgment and . . . dignity shall proceed of themselves" shall come on horses "more fierce than the evening wolves and . . . shall fly as the eagle They shall come all for violence The princes shall be a scorn unto them . . . for they shall heap dust, and

¹⁰ See also Isa. xxxiv. 11-13; Jer. ix. 11; Psalms xlv. 19.

take it" (Hab. 1. 7-10). *Evening* in this passage does not merely suggest time; like *dragon* in the quotation from Job, it is a figurative detail in a landscape of disaster.

There is, then, a flexibility in the visual image of the dragon both in Milton's writings and in Scripture. Moreover, the word is rich in allusion appropriate to the Samson story. Before accepting a fact in natural history as the genesis of "ev'ning Dragon," it might be profitable to investigate further the metaphorical potential of *dragon* and to make an assessment of the image in its relation to the whole passage in which it appears.

In *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana* by Philostratus there is an account which contains close likenesses to the Samson story, an account which may help to throw some light on Milton's use of the word *dragon* in his poem. E. M. W. Tillyard, writing on a remarkable parallel between passages in *The Life of Apollonius* and *Paradise Lost*, says, "No more than a probability [of Milton's acquaintance with Philostratus] can be established. I cannot recall any Miltonic reference to Philostratus. But if Burton was the channel through which Keats derived the plot of *Lamia* from Philostratus, Milton had probably read Philostratus too."¹¹ Perhaps more than a probability can be established: Milton writes in his *Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence against Smectymnuus*, "and for your Priest under the Gospell that thinks himselfe the purer, or the cleaner in his office for his new washt Surplesse, we esteem him for sanctitie little better than *Apollonius Thyanaeus* in his white frocke, or the Priest of *Isis* in his lawne sleeves."¹² Such implied familiarity with the beliefs and habits of Apollonius of Tyana (or Thyana) would argue that Milton was familiar with *The Life*.

In *The Life* is a passage on Indian dragons with Samson-like gifts and a Samson-like history. Philostratus says that the red dragons of the plains and the golden dragons of the mountains ("also said to inhabit the mountains in the neighbourhood of the Red Sea") are hunted for the precious stones in their heads, which he says in the account of the mountain dragons "possess a mystical power." In describing the plains dragons, Philostratus specifies that the jewels are "the pupils of their eyes" which "consist of a fiery stone." He

¹¹ "The Causeway from Hell to the World in the Tenth Book of *Paradise Lost*," *SP*, xxxviii (1941), 267.

¹² Patterson, *Works*, III, Pt. 1, 172-173. Cf. Philostratus, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, ed. with an English trans. by F. C. Conybeare (London, 1912), I, ix-x.

describes the hunt: the dragon is charmed, by means of golden runes, and is put to sleep, "for this is the only way to overcome the eyes of the dragon which are otherwise inflexible." Then the hunters "fall upon him as he lies there . . . and having cut off the head, they despoil it of its gems." But sometimes, Philostratus says, the hunter, in spite of his cunning, "is caught by the dragon, who carries him off . . . and almost shakes the mountains as he disappears."¹³ In one sense, the bewitching of Samson by Dalila began with a golden rune. Samson, too, like the golden dragon, his eyes overcome, was charmed and as he lay asleep, the hunters cut off his hair and despoiled him of his eyes. But he, though losing his head (as well as his hair), regained it and carried off his hunters "As with the force of winds . . . / When Mountains tremble, those two massy Pillars / With horrible convulsion to and fro / He tugg'd, he shook" (1647-1650).

Whatever the form of the hunted dragons of Philostratus,¹⁴ the peculiar interest in this story, in relation to the Samson story, lies in the parallels concerning vision and power: the golden dragon loses his mystical power which is his vision; Samson loses his mystical power, a loss related to loss of both physical and spiritual vision.

There can be no doubt that Milton was aware of the Greek meaning of *dragon*: 'the seeing one.' And without question, he knew that the verb *δέρκεσθαι* from which *δράκων* ('the seeing one') derived, did not mean 'to see' in the sense of getting knowledge or an impression through the eyes and the sense of sight. Bruno Snell says that "*δέρκεσθαι* means: to have a particular look in one's eyes. . . . [It] refers not so much to the function of the eye as to its gleam *as noticed by someone else* [italics added]. The verb is used of the Gorgon whose glance incites terror, and of the raging boar whose eyes radiate fire."¹⁵ *δράκων*, the serpent, owes this name to the "uncanny glint in his eye. He is called 'the seeing one' . . . because his stare commands attention."¹⁶ So by the very nature of the word, Milton in calling Samson

¹³ *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, I, 245, 247.

¹⁴ Philostratus, *The Life*, I, 243, 245, says in description of the dragons: "The dragons along the foothills and the mountain crests . . . move faster than the swiftest rivers." The plains dragons have a crest which "grows with them and extends to a considerable height." The eye of the mountain dragon "is sunk deep under the eyebrow, and emits a terrible and ruthless glance. And they give off a noise like the clashing of brass whenever they are burrowing . . . and from their crests . . . flashes a fire brighter than a torch."

¹⁵ *The Discovery of the Mind*, trans. T. G. Rosenmeyer (Harper, 1960), p. 2.

¹⁶ Snell, *The Discovery of the Mind*, p. 2.

'the seeing one' and connecting the term with *Fowl*, does not suggest the image of the snake creeping in the evening among the sleeping, unaware hens. Milton is evoking the image of fowls transfixed into attention at the sight of the great serpent (whether winged or wingless) with the uncanny fire radiating from his eyes. He is showing the terrible, blind Samson commanding the fascinated attention of the onlookers.

But Milton plays on the Greek meaning and adds a new extension to the term. At the beginning of the passage he contrasts the "inward eyes illuminated" of Samson with the "blindness internal" of the Philistines; and so a few lines later when he opposes 'the seeing one' to the roosting fowl, he is reiterating the earlier contrast and embodying Samson's spiritual awareness and the Philistines' spiritual blindness. To the Philistines, Samson is 'the seeing one' only in the Greek sense of the word. But by opposing Samson's inward illumination to blindness, Milton has defined the uncanny glint in the Dragon's eye: the fire (and one recalls the angel who had charioted his Godlike presence in a fiery column, 24-28) which sparks a fiery virtue is spiritual vision. Samson is 'the seeing one' in a sense inconceivable to the worshippers of Dagon. Moreover, the opposition of "illumination" to "blindness" equates light with vision, darkness with blindness; so when Milton calls Samson an "ev'ning Dragon," he chooses an adjective which applies to 'the seeing one' in both senses in which he is using the term: in the physical sense, Samson is the blind seeing one, the blind one who commands attention; in the spiritual sense, he is 'the seeing one' who sees darkly, the man with vision who because of his human limitations cannot fully comprehend the working of the Godlike presence within him.¹⁷

If one studies the imagery of the whole passage, one must be aware of the bird motif and the way in which Milton has defined *Dragon* so that he can make use of the Greek meaning of the word and yet avoid the snake image. Early in the passage such words as *fierce* and *flame*

¹⁷ Like *Dragon*, *ev'ning* is here a rich word. Milton has chosen a word that supports his vision imagery. But "ev'ning Dragon" also recalls the expression "evening wolves" (Hab. i. 8); and picking up the earlier words "destruction," "wrath divine," and "ruin" (lines 1681, 1683, 1684), "ev'ning Dragon" strikes a familiar Scriptural tone in an account of doom. I would suggest, too, that Milton in his love for a play on words, for investing a word with multiple meaning, has in another sense of the word *ev'ning*, suggested by his mention of "nests in order rang'd" that the "ev'ning Dragon" will bring down the order he sees before him, will make all even—balanced, just, calm. None of these evocations in the word clash; all support the complex imagery developed in the word *Dragon*.

help to evoke the picture of a fiery, winged dragon. More important, the lines "With inward eyes illuminated / His fierie vertue rouz'd / From under ashes into sudden flame, / And as an ev'ning Dragon came" (1689-1692) connect the Dragon with the phoenix and rebirth. As we have noted, Milton uses the term *Dragon* to symbolize vision, which gives birth to power; but he uses the term also to symbolize the *reborn* power. By imagery recalling the birth of the phoenix, Milton subtly comments in the word *Dragon* on the relation, the oneness, of vision and power. Vision gives birth to power; nevertheless, power is a "self-begott'n bird." Later Milton couples *Dragon* with *Eagle* and again as reborn power with the phoenix. Thus, the developing metaphor supports the early suggestion that he is giving the dragon (and Samson) wings. In connecting the word with *Eagle*, Milton retains the Scriptural associations of destruction and judgment; in connecting it with the phoenix, he suggests the mythical image of the dragon. He sets off against the Dragon the Fowl—the Philistines, too, have wings. But the difference between Samson and his Dagon-worshipping enemies in power, in potential flight, in spirit, is emphasized in the contrast between the great winged creature, a Samson undomesticated in spite of servitude, and the little "tame villatic Fowl." The fiery rebirth is not in the nature of these nesting fowls.

Milton does not bring God's champion through sackcloth and ashes and flame to liken him at his moment of triumph to a snake robbing a hen roost and slaughtering hens. The word *Dragon* is a key word in a complex of comment on the relation of vision and power, flight and judgment. Samson in his youth had, in the words of Job, made a covenant with his eyes. Betraying his eyes, he had fallen into the blindness of self and had lost the power that accompanied vision. But vision rekindled, his power returns; he emerges from ashes and flame, not a phoenix, for he has not yet earned eternity, but a Dragon, a seeing one, a powerful one. While the Philistines are transfixed at the sight, the Dragon springs. But at the moment of this act of faith, his wings grow ("They that wait upon the Lord . . . shall mount up with wings as eagles" Isa. xl. 31); he flies like an Eagle and, significantly, the thunder bolts from above. God's judgment falls not only on the blind Fowl; Samson, "though his body die," has undergone a spiritual metamorphosis. He has changed from Dragon to Eagle to phoenix and earned himself "ages of lives."

Indiana University

LEE SHERIDAN COX

Milton's "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso" — Balance, Progression, or Dichotomy?

In general, the critical treatments of Milton's popular poems, "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso," have ranged from warm expressions of appreciation not too convincingly supported, to discussion of their literary relationships or date of composition, to provocative analysis of the themes and symbols. As we would expect, the discussions tend to grow out of each other. After a brief summary of the main approaches to the poems, I would like to consider Don Cameron Allen's treatment more at length and then, stimulated by his essay, suggest another possible reading, particularly of "L'Allegro."

Tillyard in his three-part discussion is concerned with the tone of the poems in relation to their intended audience. Preoccupied with what he calls their "burlesque" opening, he concerns himself mainly with dating the poems, placing them in Milton's Cambridge period and thus giving them a university audience, one which would immediately grasp and appreciate the fun. The structure of the poems, however, he dismisses altogether too easily, one feels, describing it as "one of simple progressions and self-evident contrasts. . . . There is no thought that is not easily grasped at once. Apart from a couple of minor syntactical difficulties the language is extremely lucid," he concludes.¹ Thus Tillyard seems to miss the subtle complexities present in the poems.

Cleanth Brooks, on the other hand, sees the day-night contrast as the central symbol of the two poems. Their tension exists in the two choices appealing to the same mind, Brooks feels. And it is with his light symbol that Milton brings together all the opposites of the poems, making them really the two halves of one poem. "In both poems the spectator moves through what are predominantly cool half-lights," which become "a sort of symbol of the aesthetic distance which the cheerful man, no less than the pensive man, consistently maintains. The full glare of the sun would then symbolize the actual workaday world over which neither the 'Mountain Nymph, sweet Liberty' nor the 'Cherub Contemplation' presides."²

However, although the light imagery is certainly there, it does not

¹ "Milton: *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*," The English Association, Pamphlet No. 82 (July, 1932), pp. 7-8.

² "The Light Symbolism in 'L'Allegro-Il Penseroso,'" in *The Well-Wrought Urn* (New York, 1947), p. 59.

seem to get Brooks to the heart of the poems. Too much has been omitted. Rosemond Tuve, in fact, in her chapter in *Images and Themes in Five Poems by Milton* (1957) completely rejects light as the key symbol of the poems.

"L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso," she suggests, are both Milton—the two contrasting tendencies in every man. One of her main points is that the pleasures of "L'Allegro" are not the "vain deluding joys" of "Il Penseroso." "Each poem begins with a banishing of the travesty of what is praised in the other" (p. 24). For her, Mirth and Melancholy are the only true symbols in the poems, the two together representing the two sides of Milton and of Everyman.

Of the various critics who have discussed these poems, Don Cameron Allen, I feel, has made the best effort to handle the text itself. He sees the two poems as one, embodying the theme of a search for a way to the eternal thought of God.

He describes the exaltation of the poet's proposal, his loneliness in his search, his aloofness and detachment. He feels that the mood of the poems is one of stillness, "as if the poet were already at the state of satisfaction" described in the conclusion of "Il Penseroso."³ The movement from morning to night follows "the procession of common experience" (p. 5). Allen sees traces of struggle in the poems, "but they also describe a progress from an enslaving dissatisfaction to an ultimate gratification" (pp. 8-9). In other words, he rejects the idea that the poems are mere prosodic exercises, not seriously intended; or that they are simple poems with no subsurface subtleties; or that they contain burlesque.

The reference to "sorrow" in l. 45 of "L'Allegro"⁴ he interprets as referring to the poet, not the Lark, and he questions the reason for the poet's sadness, feeling that there is perhaps a hint in the lines:

Mountains on whose barren brest
The labouring clouds do often rest.
(ll. 74-5)

Allen reads the lines as picturing the clouds writhing in agony to give birth to rain upon the barren mountains, the image symbolizing the struggle for artistic expression in a sterile period. It seems to me

³ *The Harmonious Vision: Studies in Milton's Poetry* (Baltimore, 1954), p. 5.

⁴ All quotations from the poems have been taken from *The Columbia Edition of the Works of John Milton* (New York, 1931), Vol. I.

that he is reading into the lines and that the "labouring clouds" are simply the servant clouds described in their "thousand Liveries" in l. 62. Admittedly, a struggle does seem to be present in the two poems, but I doubt if this passage is its key.

Allen's treatment of Milton's allusion to Chaucer's unfinished Squire's Tale in "Il Penseroso" seems more to the point. He conjectures that possibly Milton was interested mainly in the three symbols listed: the ring, which revealed secrets of nature; the glass, revealer of the secrets of men; and the brass horse, symbol of conquered space (p. 12). Other worthwhile points are his discussion of the reference to the constellation of the Bear (l. 87) as a symbol of perfection and his treatment of the Hermes reference in l. 89. Concerning the latter, he quotes from the *Poimandres*: "'The immortal mind that hath forsook / Her mansion in this fleshly nook,' writes Hermes, proceeds upwards and discards some of its material tatters at each of the spheres." Then it reaches the eighth sphere, where with others it praises God and mounts up to the Father, becoming part of God. The purified mind is "the music of God" (pp. 13-14).

Allen feels that the structure of the two poems is based on a daily ascent. "By a continued mounting of the slopes of intellect from common experience, to intellectual experience, to religious inspiration, the poet trusts to arrive at the supreme poetic gratification"—the "Prophetic strain" (p. 17). For Allen, then, the tower, representing the solitariness of the poet's mind, becomes the main symbol of the poems. And the idea of the alert man throughout is stronger than that of the cheerful or the pensive man. He traces this use of the tower symbol through such writers as Cicero, Pliny, Spenser, and Donne, comparing it also to the watchtower image of Isaiah 21. 5, 8. "The structure of the poems," Allen states, "rests on the rising stairs of the tower" (p. 18). The common experiences of "L'Allegro" are the first milestone in the ascent; the tower itself, or intellectual experience, is the second; these in turn lead into poetic and religious experience.

Allen's comments have certainly enriched our reading of the second poem, but I do feel that he somewhat overworks his tower symbol. The struggle to ascend does not seem to be present in the way that he describes it. For one thing, the medieval tower images of "L'Allegro" are more a contrast to the "high lonely Tow'r" of "Il Penseroso," rather than the same symbol. And the common experiences of "L'Allegro" which form the first step of the tower ascent, according

to Allen, are actually idealized experiences, not real ones at all. Accepting Allen's interpretation of "Il Penseroso," then, I would like to suggest briefly an alternate reading of "L'Allegro," which would see the poems more as contrasts, depicting two attitudes toward life, rather than so much as a steady progression from the first through the second.

In "L'Allegro" Milton's world seems close to a small-scale vision of the ideal, green comic world, the world of *As You Like It*, for example. This he sets against other unreal dream worlds: the chivalric past, the classical world of myth, the fairy tale world of Queen Mab and the goblins, and finally Shakespeare's world of romantic comedy. The chivalric world is introduced in ll. 59-62, where the poet describes the sun at the great eastern gate, attended by "The clouds in thousand Liveries dight." It enters again in ll. 77-80 in the "Towers and Battlements" passage, and in the description of the cities, ll. 117-130. The rustics—Corydon, Thyrsis, Phyllis, and Thestylis—represent the classical pastoral world. The Queen Mab allusion takes on some complexity, for this fairy world is an escape world even within the idealized green world—it is the story world of the country folk, in which goblins do their work at night. Milton's idealized world is a surface world, even as that of Shakespeare's romantic comedies. Yet, as in Shakespeare, things are going on beneath the surface, and we are not allowed to forget reality completely—it nudges us periodically, reminding that this is only a dream. Although "loathed Melancholy" is dismissed in the introduction, "wrinkled Care" is present deriding Sport. The poet desires to live with Mirth in "unreproved pleasures free," the very word *unreproved* suggesting an awareness of censure. The Lark awakens in "in spight [despite] of sorrow." The liveried mountains labor and need rest. And the reference to Jonson undercuts slightly the more enlarged reference to Shakespeare's pastoral world. The "Sweet Liberty" has become wantonness in the sexual imagery of ll. 137-40. And even though he wants to believe otherwise, there is the suggestion in this same passage that to give oneself to the illusion, however appealing, is to become lost in a maze. He acknowledges with regret that he has been describing "such sights as youthful Poets dream / On Summer eeves by haunted stream" (ll. 129-30). They are illusory. Like Keats after him, who longed to "die a death / Of luxury," Milton desired to escape from the "eating Cares" of the world (still present at the end of the poem—l. 135) and be immersed "in soft *Lydian* Aires, / Married to immortal verse." I would ques-

tion the footnote on these lines in the Merritt Hughes edition of Milton, stating that Milton ignored "the traditional prejudice against Lydian music as morally enervating."⁵ Rather, the speaker of the poem is really deceiving himself concerning this music. Like Keats again, he has to discover that this is not the way to untwist "all the chains that ty / The hidden soul of harmony" (ll. 143-4). Incidentally, I feel that this whole passage expresses quite an intense personal desire on Milton's part. In l. 129 (quoted above), part of this same passage, he has made his first reference to the poet. The line forms an unobtrusive transition to a central theme of the poems, the role of the poet. He soon becomes more personal and direct. His union with Mirth is, he trusts, a marriage to "immortal verse." Milton has dedicated himself to poetry, desiring to awaken the great poet Orpheus, even. And it is rather interesting in this first reference to this myth that it is Orpheus rather than Pluto that the poet wishes to impress. He aspires to a place in the ranks of the greatest poets. The doubt of the way he has chosen, however, ironically persists in the *if* of the last two lines:

These delights, if thou canst give,
Mirth with thee, I mean to live.

In "Il Penseroso" the poet rejects the "fancies" and "hovering dreams" for reality, the world of pain and tragedy (l. 97). The poet's function takes on divine and prophetic connotations. In contrast to "L'Allegro," this second poem is full of religious images: Melancholy treated as a Nun, her "rapt soul," the "Spare Fast" of the gods, "Joves Altar," the contemplative life, the poet's tower or hermit's retreat in which he becomes a watchman. Seemingly the "immortal mind" of the universe has forsaken the world of mankind and Daemon powers have taken control (ll. 90-6). The divine spirit of poetry seems asleep in the world. This poem, too, contains an Orpheus reference, but here, in contrast to "L'Allegro," the poet is concerned with the influence of his poetry on Hell itself. The emphasis has shifted from desire for personal fame and recognition to his influence as an inspired poet-prophet. The dream of this poem becomes the "mysterious dream" of prophetic vision. *Mysterious* no doubt is used in a Scriptural sense, referring to the hidden truths of divine revelation. "Il Penseroso" concludes with the poet seeking the mystical experience

⁵ *Complete Poems and Major Prose* (New York, 1957), p. 71.

of union with God. He rejects illusion; by an act of will he submits to the pain of life and gives himself to thought and religious contemplation

Till old experience do attain
To something like Prophetic strain.
(ll. 173-4)

Seattle Pacific College

ELEANOR TATE

The Context of Marvell's "Hortus" and "Garden"

These poems lose their difference when they are detached from the context of their original. This context is rightly approached through Cowley, although it is often identified with foreign influence. When Thomas Sprat wrote his *Life of Cowley* (1668) he observed that Cowley's *Essays* were "upon some of the gravest subjects that concern the Contentment of a Virtuous Mind. These he intended as a real Character of his own thoughts upon the point of his Retirement." They were intended to be "a kind of Apology for having left humane Affairs, in the strength of his Age, while he might still have been serviceable to his Country." In this respect they resemble Sir William Temple's essay "Upon the Gardens of Epicurus" (1685) and more generally "The Great Prerogative of a Private Life," which was translated from La Mothe le Vayer in 1678.

i

But this theme, as Cowley reminds us, had found early expression in his verse. It first appeared in "A Vote," published in *Sylva* in 1636, where Cowley voted to be like Horace on his Sabine farm. He would not be a Puritan, School-master, Justice of Peace, Courtier, et cetera. And he would be preserved "from your Court-Madams beauty." In "The Wish," published in *The Mistress* in 1647, he again votes for the Horatian retreat, but he now adds an amatory element, no doubt because of the nature of his book, though possibly because of Horace's second Epode. He returned to the theme of retirement in the Preface to his *Poems* of 1656.

In his last essay, "Of My self," published in the *Works* of 1668, he fills in the story of this vote in order to explain his preceding essays:

As far as my Memory can return back into my past Life, before I knew, or was capable of guessing what the world, or glories, or business of it were, the natural affections of my soul gave me a secret bent of aversion from them, as some Plants are said to turn away from others, by an Antipathy imperceptible to themselves, and inscrutable to mans understanding. Even when I was a very young Boy at School, instead of running about on Holy-daies and playing with my fellows; I was wont to steal from them, and walk into the fields, either alone with a Book, or with some one Companion, if I could find any of the same temper. . . . That I was then of the same mind as I am now (which I confess, I wonder at my self) may appear by the latter end of an Ode, which I made when I was but thirteen years old, and which was then printed with many other Verses. The Beginning of it is Boyish, but of this part which I here set down (if a very little were corrected) I should hardly now be much ashamed.

Cowley quotes the last three stanzas of "A Vote." And then he comments: "You may see by it, I was even then acquainted with the Poets (for the Conclusion is taken out of *Horace*;) and perhaps it was the immature and immoderate love of them which stamp't first, or rather engraved these Characters in me: They were like Letters cut into the Bark of a young Tree, which with the Tree still grow proportionably." His essay "Of Agriculture" draws largely on these poets, but here he proceeds to describe his worldly "condition in banishment and publick distresses" before adding, "yet I could not abstain from renewing my old School-boys Wish in a Copy of Verses to the same effect." Then he quotes the first two lines of "The Wish."

This passion had another consequence. John Evelyn's *Kalendarium Hortense*, first published in 1664, was dedicated to Cowley in its second edition (1666):

This *Hortulan Kalendar* is yours, mindful of the honour once conferr'd on it, when you were pleas'd to suspend your nobler raptures, and think it worthy your transcribing. It appears now with some advantages which it then wanted; because it had not that of publishing to the world, how infinitely I magnifie your contempt of (not to say revenge upon) it; whilst you still continue in the possession of your self, and of that repose which few men understand, in exchange for those pretty miseries you have essay'd . . . and as the philosopher in Seneca desir'd only bread and herbs to dispute felicity with Jupiter, you vie happiness in a thousand easy and sweet diversions; not forgetting the innocent toils which you cultivate, the leisure and the liberty, the books, the meditations, and, above all, the learned and choice friendships that you enjoy. Who would not, like you, *cacher sa vie*? 'Twas the wise impress of Balzac, and of Plutarch before him; you give it lustre and interpretation. I assure you, Sir, it is what in the world I most inwardly breathe after and pursue.

Thus Evelyn places Cowley in the European tradition of philosophic libertinism.

Cowley returned the compliment by dedicating his essay on "The Garden" to Evelyn, where he again touched upon his favorite theme:

I never had any other desire so strong, and so like to Covetousness as that one which I have had always, that I might be master at last of a small house and large garden, with very moderate conveniencies joyned to them, and there dedicate the remainder of my life only to the culture of them and study of Nature. . . . But several accidents of my ill fortune have disappointed me hitherto, and do still, of that felicity; for though I have made the first and hardest step to it, by abandoning all ambitions and hopes in this World, and by retiring from the noise of all business and almost company, yet I stick still in the Inn of a hired House and Garden, among Weeds and Rubbish; and without that pleasantest work of Human Industry, the Improvement of something which we call (not very properly, but yet we call) Our Own.

Evelyn had quoted Cowley's "Wish" in his dedication of the *Hortulan Kalendar*, and Cowley concluded his essay "Of My self" with these words about his garden life: "Nothing shall separate me from a Mistress, which I have loved so long, and have now at last married; though she neither has brought me a rich Portion, nor lived yet so quietly with me as I hoped from Her." By this time Cowley had confessed in his essay "Of Greatness," as evidence of his moderation, that "if I were ever to fall in love again (which is a great Passion, and therefore, I hope, I have done with it) it would be, I think, with Prettiness, rather than with Majestical Beauty."

The verses in "The Garden" elaborate the conditions of life desired in "The Wish" until they approach the ambitious *Elysium Britannicum* which Evelyn had outlined to Sir Thomas Browne on 28 January 1657-8. This glorification of gardens envisaged "a society of the *paradisi cultores*, persons of antient simplicity, Paradisean and Hortulan saints." One of its gardens was the subject of Browne's *Garden of Cyrus*, published in the same year. But only one chapter of Evelyn's work was ever published: *Acetaria, a Discourse of Sallets*, in 1699. In this discourse he quotes Cowley's "Garden," stanza 8 and stanza 6, and *Plantarum*, the opening of Book IV; he also quotes garden passages from Milton's *Paradise Lost* (Book V): "As our Paradisian Bard introduces Eve, dressing of a sallet for her angelical guest"; and again, "so in the most blissful place and innocent state of nature, see how the first empress of the world regales her celestial guest."

The advantages of the garden life were continued by Temple "Upon the Gardens of Epicurus": "If we believe the Scripture, we must allow that God Almighty esteemed the life of a man in a garden the happiest he could give him, or else he would not have placed Adam in that of Eden; that it was the state of innocence and pleasure; and that the life of husbandry and cities came in after the fall, with guilt and with labor." But Cowley's verses in "The Garden" offer a compendium of common garden themes, even to that of Marvell's "Mower against Gardens" on grafting the cherry.

In 1665 the theme of retirement had found another advocate when Sir George Mackenzie published his essay of *Solitude preferred to Public Employment*. This provoked an answer from Evelyn in 1667, entitled *Public Employment preferred to Solitude*. In a letter to Cowley, 12 March 1667, Evelyn admits that Cowley "had reason to be astonished" and explains that he wrote by way of paradox, "as those who praised dirt, a flea, and the gout." He conjures Cowley to believe that he is still of the same mind, "and that there is no person alive who does more honour and breathe after the life and repose you so happily cultivate and adorn by your example." In his reply of 13 May 1667 Cowley asks to borrow Mackenzie's essay and explains: "I have sent all about the town in vain to get the author, having very much affection for the subject, which is one of the noblest controversies both modern and ancient." This was written not long before his death.

ii

We may now return to "The Wish," which was certainly earlier than Marvell's two poems. It will help to quote it in full.

I

Well then, I now do plainly see,
This busie World and I shall ne'er agree;
The very Honey of all earthly joy
Does of all meats the soonest cloy.
And they (methinks) deserve my pity,
Who for it can endure the stings,
The Croud, and Buz, and Murmurings
Of this great Hive, the City.

II

Ah, yet, e'er I descend to th' Grave,
May I a small House, and large Garden have!

And a few Friends, and many Books, both true,
Both wise, and both delightful too!
And since Love ne'er will from me flee,
A Mistress moderately fair,
And good as Guardian-Angels are,
Only belov'd, and loving me!

III

Oh, Fountains, when in you shall I
My self, eas'd of unpeaceful thoughts, espy?
Oh Fields! Oh Woods! when, when shall I be made
The happy Tenant of your Shade?
Here's the Spring-head of Pleasure's flood;
Where all the Riches lye, that she
Has coin'd and stamp'd for good.

IV

Pride and Ambition here,
Only in far-fetch'd Metaphors appear;
Here nought but Winds can hurtful Murmurs scatter,
And nought but Echo flatter.
The Gods, when they descended, hither
From Heav'n, did always chuse their way;
And therefore we may boldly say,
That 'tis the Way too thither.

V

How happy here should I,
And one dear She live, and embracing die?
She who is all the world, and can exclude
In desarts Solitude,
I should have then this only fear,
Lest men, when they my pleasures see,
Should hither throng to live like me,
And so make a City here.

Cowley's "Wish," which is most like Horace's Satire II. vi, sets town and country in opposition. His wish does not exclude woman or seek solitude. Marvell, however, opposes woman to nature in "Hortus," and in "The Garden" makes woman an enemy to solitude as well as to the love of nature. For Cowley, as for Marvell in "The Garden," nature offers (III) the innocent pleasures and (IV) the way to Heaven. For Cowley the honey of the city is not worth its price; but, ironically, envy of his pleasures may turn his retreat into a city. Both ambition and woman are threats to Marvell's paradise.

It is the use of the amatory element that distinguishes "The Wish"

most sharply from "Hortus." In the former, love will not flee from him, but in the latter all flee from the love of woman to the love of nature. In "Hortus" Cupid himself is conquered by nature, and the gods rejoice "to see his lessening rage" as they turn from women to trees—from Neaera, Chloe, Faustina, Corynna to Elm, Poplar, Cypress, Plane; not to mention the Oak, Beech, Laurel, Reed versus Juno, Venus, Daphne, Syrinx. Thus the gods ran "passion's heat." It is this development that adds three stanzas to the five of "The Wish." But when "The Garden" replaces these three stanzas by another three that develop the contemplative life, it adds a ninth stanza—the penultimate—which exploits the idea of woman's threat to Paradise.

Here are the three stanzas of "Hortus" in the translation of Edmund Blunden (*T. L. S.*, v. 54, p. 462):

A maiden's beauty binds us all in spells,
But I am sure your flourishing green excels,
Her snowy white, her rosy red o'erthrows,
Her locks yield to your leaves, her arms t'your boughs.
Your breezy whisper makes her voice less sweet.
But I have seen (and who could think to see't?)
The cruel lover carve the mistress' name
Upon your finer skin, nor felt it shame
So to inscribe wounds on each sacred stem!
Should I, O trees, should I make bold with them,
Neaera, Chloe, will not there be named;
In her own book each tree shall be acclaimed.
Beloved Elm, Poplar and Cypress, Plane!
Faustina and Corynna we disdain.

Love here, those weapons which might once have slain
Dropped, and the nerveless bow and wings even doffed,
Puts slippers on, and saunters byways soft;
He lowers his torch; affrights no lover ever;
He lolls at ease, or dozes on his quiver;
Though Venus called, he will not hear: his dreams,
Not empty, shew the offence of former schemes.

The Immortals joy to see his lessening rage,
And though conversant through so many an age
With Nymphs and Goddesses, they all avow
Some tree gives each a better conquest now.
Jove for an old Oak pines and shuns his wife,
No rival so grieved Juno in her life;
No lover now invades poor Vulcan's bed,
The Beech drives Venus out of Mars's head;
Phoebus on lovely Daphne's steps has panted
That she might grow a Laurel, naught else wanted;

And did the goatfoot Pan for Syrinx speed,
'Twas but to own again his tuneful reed.

Between these and the final stanza in the 1681 text of "Hortus" are inserted the words "Desunt multa," evidently in comparison with "The Garden." The part of "Hortus" which differs radically from "The Garden" runs from the line, "Should I, O trees, etc." to the line, "The Beech drives Venus etc."

The substituted stanzas of "The Garden" are the following:

What wond'rous life is this I lead!
Ripe apples drop about my head;
The luscious clusters of the vine
Upon my mouth do crush their wine;
The nectarine and curious peach
Into my hands themselves do reach;
Stumbling on melons as I pass,
Ensnared with flowers, I fall on grass.

Meanwhile the mind from pleasure less
Withdraws into its happiness;
The mind, that ocean where each kind
Does straight its own resemblance find,
Yet it creates, transcending these,
Far other worlds and other seas,
Annihilating all that's made
To a green thought in a green shade.

Here at the fountain's sliding foot,
Or at some fruit tree's mossy root,
Casting the body's vest aside,
My soul into the bough does glide;
There like a bird it sits and sings,
Then whets, then combs its silver wings;
And till prepared for longer flight,
Waves in its plumes the various light.

In the first stanza his physical needs are provided without effort on his part but with innocence. His satisfactions are reminiscent of "Bermudas"; and the Fall of man, if present, is innocent. In the next stanza his mind finds its pleasure in creative contemplation, transforming the garden into forms even more ideal. In "Hortus," instead of reducing all "To a green thought in a green shade" he seeks and finds Quiet and Simplicity "Concealed in green plants and like-coloured shade (Celârant plantae virides, et concolor umbra)." In both instances, however, the garden colors the moral product. Lastly his soul finds in the garden the aspiration that prepares it for

longer flight to a higher world. It waves the light in its plumes as the flowers do in the dial of the final stanza. Thus "that happy garden state" is defined for body, mind, and soul, which can find the sacred plantings of quiet and innocence only among the plants.

Thus what is supposed to be missing in "Hortus" makes "The Garden" a different poem. Both poems have similar beginnings and ends, but quite different middles. "Hortus" is concerned with the opposition of the love of woman and the love of nature, where Cowley had united them. It is centered on the theme of society versus solitude and the love which dominates each. "The Garden" turns this opposition into an active versus contemplative theme; the mythic parallels to the opposition are reduced to the stories of Daphne and Syrinx.

In "Hortus" the search is for nature's peace and quiet rather than the rewards of retirement or the contemplative life. In "The Garden" nature becomes the locus of the contemplative life and the means of evaluating it against the active life. Prudence rather than heroics now is measured in terms of garden spoils. The change in major theme explains the different middles and the alterations of beginning and end. In "Hortus" there is no connection of the garden with Paradise as the prototype of the ideal life; no relation of the ending to this concept, or to an adjudication of the active versus contemplative life, for which Eden before Eve is the perfect archetype.

Hence the play of wit on woman is turned in "The Garden" with a new propriety:

Such was that happy garden-state,
While man there walked without a mate;
After a place so pure and sweet,
What other help could yet be meet!
But 'twas beyond a mortal's share
To wander solitary there;
Two paradises 'twere, in one,
To live in paradise alone.

Marvell reverses the words of God in *Genesis*: "It is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him an help meet for him." Marvell thinks that it is good for man to be alone, and that the garden is enough of a help in its similitude to the original "dial." If the levity of contradicting Scripture on "help meet" seems flippant, it should be recalled that the garden is Marvell's refuge from "passion's heat," which began when Eve broke the solitude of Eden and destroyed its quiet and innocence.

The final stanza modulates the curse of labor after the Fall (*Genesis* 3. 19) into its pleasantest form:

How well the skillful gard'ner drew
Of flowers and herbs this dial new,
Where, from above, the milder sun
Does through a fragrant zodiac run;
And as it works, th' industrious bee
Computes its time as well as we.
How could such sweet and wholesome hours
Be reckoned but with herbs and flowers?

But its main point is to instruct us how to compute our time until prepared for longer flight. The "milder sun" is "candidior" and the ambiguity of "thyme" is explicit in the Latin. Here Cowley's bee has left the city, but remains the sign of industry or ambition.

University of Chicago

GEORGE WILLIAMSON

Dryden's *Mac Flecknoe* and Dekker's *Satiromastix*

For ancient *Decker* prophesi'd long since,
That in this Pile should Reign a mighty Princee,
Born for a scourge of Wit, and flayle of Sense: . . .
(*Mac Flecknoe*, ll. 87-89)

Readers of *Mac Flecknoe* have long been puzzled by the specific reference in these lines to "ancient *Decker*" and particularly to Dekker's "prophecy." The recently published Oxford *Dryden* (ed. James Kinsley, 1958, 4 vols.) ignores the Dekker reference, but Scott long ago associated Jonson's *Poetaster* and its related attack on Dekker with the passage,¹ and Professor G. R. Noyes later quoted from Dryden's Preface to *Notes and Observations on The Empress of Morocco* (1674) to show that Dryden was familiar with Jonson's attack on Dekker in *Poetaster*, though Dryden there wrongly identifies Crispinus—properly, of course, Demetrius—as the satirical portrayal of Dekker.²

¹ *The Works of John Dryden*, ed. Walter Scott, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh, 1821), x, 451. Scott mentions *Satiromastix* as one of Dekker's plays, but suggests no connection with *Mac Flecknoe*. *Mac Flecknoe* is quoted from *The Poems of John Dryden*, ed. James Kinsley (Oxford, 1958), I, 265-271.

² *The Poetical Works of Dryden*, ed. George R. Noyes, rev. ed. (Cambridge, Mass., [1950]), p. 1059.

This reference to *Poetaster* is, however, rather beside the point, except in so far as it shows that Dryden was acquainted with at least one play, and something of its significance, in the earlier War of the Theatres. Much more to the point is Dekker's own play *Satiromastix*, written as an answer to *Poetaster*, and it is this play which I would suggest as the true source of Dryden's reference to Dekker and Dekker's so-called "prophecy."³

There are two passages in *Satiromastix* which may be considered in the nature of prophecy. The first occurs in II. ii. 55-62, where Horace (Jonson) is presented in soliloquy:

The Muses birdes (the Bees) were hui'd and fed
Vs in our cradle, thereby prophecing;
That we to learned eares should sweetly sing,
But to the vulgar and adulterate braine,
Should loath to prostitute our Virgin straine.
No our sharpe pen shall keep the world in awe,
Horace thy Poesie wormwood wreathes shall weare,
We hunt not for mens loves but for their feare.

The second passage is found toward the end of the play (V. ii. 338-339). Here Crispinus (Marston), as judge at Horace's trial, after forcing Horace to swear to observe the full "inventory of his oath," exclaims:

That fearefull wreath, this honour is your due,
All Poets shall be Poet-Apes but you; . . .

Both passages are peculiarly relevant to the situation of Shadwell in *Mac Flecknoe*. It will be recalled that two of Dryden's principal points against Shadwell are Shadwell's insistence on the reformatory as opposed to the merely pleasing role of comedy,⁴ and his flaunted and slavish imitation of good Father Ben.⁵ Shadwell is indeed, in Dryden's eyes, a Poet-Ape, a poor imitation, and Dryden is engaged in a "*Whipping a' th Satyre*" (*Satiromastix*), or, in other words, of that "scourge of Wit, and flayle of Sense," Shadwell, whose comical satires are ironically "inoffensive" and "never bite." The irony

³ *Satiromastix* is quoted from *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, ed. Fredson Bowers (Cambridge, 1953), I.

⁴ See the Preface to Shadwell's *The Humorists* (1671) in *The Complete Works of Thomas Shadwell*, ed. Montague Summers (London, 1927), I, 183.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 186-189, and the Preface to *The Sullen Lovers* (1668) in *Works*, I, 10-11. Dryden's comments on the aim of comedy and on Jonson's lack of "wit" in his Preface to *An Evening's Love* (1668) had raised Shadwell's ire. Compare Dryden's comments on Shadwell's relation to Jonson in *Mac Flecknoe* (ll. 171-196).

is carried further, and with deadly effect, by what may be considered as Dryden's adaptation of Dekker's "fearefull wreath": in *Satiromastix* it is fittingly a crown of stinging nettles, in *Mac Flecknoe*, a wreath of sleep-producing poppies. Indeed, considering Shadwell's boasted inventiveness in the creation of new humour characters,⁶ what could better describe the whole intention of *Mac Flecknoe* than the sub-title of Dekker's play—"The vntrussing of the Humorous Poet"?

Against the obvious objection that Dekker's "prophecy" in *Satiromastix* was not, as Dryden claims, directly related to "this Pile" (i. e., the Nursery belonging to the Duke's Company in the Barbican) two suggestions may be offered. First, there is just a possibility that Dryden, in the original version of line 88, may have written "in this Isle"—a reading which automatically removes any immediate reference to the Nursery.⁷ Second, though *Satiromastix* was written for Shakespeare's company, the Lord Chamberlain's Men, it was also, according to the title-page, acted "priuately, by the Children of Paules." It may, therefore, like *Poetaster*, have been associated in Dryden's mind with child actors, the "infant Punks" and "little *Maximins*" of an earlier kind of Nursery.

One further rhetorical link may be worth noticing, though it is most probably nothing more than an interesting coincidence. In his preface to *Satiromastix*, "To the World," Dekker uses the phrase "all mount Helicon to Bun-hill"; just eight lines after his reference to "ancient Dekker" Dryden writes:

Rows'd by report of Fame, the Nations meet,
From near *Bun-Hill*, and distant *Watling-street*.

University of Illinois

G. BLAKEMORE EVANS

⁶ Preface to *The Humorists* (*Works*, I, 189); *Mac Flecknoe*, ll. 187-192.

⁷ See my article "The Text of Dryden's *Mac Flecknoe*," *Harvard Library Bulletin*, VII (1953), 39. Vinton A. Dearing ("Dryden's *Mac Flecknoe*: The Case for Authorial Revision," *SB*, VII (1955), 98) argues for the priority of the reading "in this place" (found in two MSS) and suggests that "in this Isle" may have resulted from a misunderstanding of Dryden's alteration of "place" to "Pile." (I may add that the reading "Isle" has turned up again in a newly discovered MS [University of Illinois Library], a MS which shows close textual relationship with the two MSS reading "place.") "Place," at any rate, was unsatisfactory since Dryden had used it only three lines earlier with the same reference, but it should be noticed that "Pile" is not entirely satisfactory. Dryden had already described the then ruined Barbican watch-tower as "the Pile" nineteen lines earlier (l. 69), but had distinguished the Nursery as being "near" (l. 74) the brothel houses which rise from the ruins of the Barbican.

The Importance of Witty Dialogue in *The School for Scandal*

It is generally acknowledged that Sheridan's plays succeed on account of their witty dialogue and in spite of their dramatic action. As early as 1825 Thomas Moore showed by reference to the manuscripts that *The School for Scandal* was a fusion of two of Sheridan's earlier draft plays. He attributed its "flaws" of plot and characterization to this fusion.¹ But both the defects and the virtues of the play are characteristic of Sheridan's other comedies as well, and one wonders whether they are not the outcome of Sheridan's method of writing rather than of an accident of composition. The draft play manuscripts, showing as they do the various stages of composition, throw interesting light on the matter and suggest a more satisfactory explanation.² An examination of them leads one to believe that Sheridan constructed his plays around witty sayings, that he was prepared to accept or ignore flaws of plot or character in order to preserve favorite aphorisms intact—in short, that his eye was upon dialogue rather than action. It is possible to demonstrate from the draft manuscripts the steps by which Sheridan transformed unconnected witty sayings into *The School for Scandal*; it is also possible to show that these steps are responsible for the characteristic shortcomings of the play.

The changes made in four scenes from the draft plays as they appear in the Frampton Court manuscript may serve as examples.³ The opening scene at Lady Sneerwell's, the testing of Joseph Surface, the quarrel between Sir Peter and Lady Teazle, and the flirtation between Lady Teazle and Joseph Surface, provide us with illustrations of Sheridan's preoccupation with dialogue.

In the opening scene of "The Slanderers" Lady Sneerwell and Spatter are found plotting scandal together. Those aphorisms and plays of wit which are removed from the first scene as it appears in

¹ Thomas Moore, *Memoirs of the Life of the Right Honourable Richard Brinsley Sheridan*, 2nd ed. (London, 1825), I, 208-253.

² The draft play manuscripts consist of three notebooks bound together: two of the play "Sir Peter Teazle" and one of "The Slanderers." These, and the holograph Frampton Court manuscript—the earliest known version of *The School for Scandal*—are in the library of Mr. Robert H. Taylor of Yonkers, New York. It is a pleasure to acknowledge Mr. Taylor's generosity in allowing me to examine the manuscripts and to publish extracts from them.

³ The text of the Frampton Court manuscript may be found in *Sheridan's Plays, Now Printed as He Wrote Them*, ed. W. Fraser Rae (London, 1902)—referred to below as Fraser Rae.

the Frampton Court manuscript are brought in later as part of the conversation after Sir Benjamin Backbite's entrance; Sheridan could not bear to part with them. In the draft play the opening wit was based on the ways of initiating a scandal and a notable example—the case of Miss Shepherd of Ramsgate: “Ha! ha! did your Ladyship never hear how poor miss . . . [?Shepherd] lost her Lover & her character last Summer at Scarborough—this was the whole of it. . . .”⁴ The speech originally belonged to Spatter, but when it reappears in the Frampton Court version it is given to Crabtree.⁵ Similarly, Lady Sneerwell's remark, originally made to Spatter alone, that “. . . a Tale of Scandal is as fatal to the Credit of a Prude as a fever to those of the Strongest Constitution—but there is a sort of sickly Reputation that outlive[s a] hundred of the robuster Character of a Prude . . . ,” is also placed after Sir Benjamin's entrance.⁶

In neither case do the displaced lines do anything to further the plot, and they could be made by any of the witty characters in the play without impropriety. It seems probable that Sheridan removed them from the beginning of the play because their irrelevance tended to obscure the action. He was not willing, however, to abandon good lines, and as a result he placed them in a part of the play where they would have no effect upon the action whatsoever. We have here a clear illustration of Sheridan's use of witty dialogue for its own sake.

In addition to moving dialogue around when it is not essential to the action, Sheridan will sometimes retain a whole scene, virtually word for word, and without any readjustment of lines change the persons involved in it. Some of the inconsistencies of character arise from one figure's stepping into the part of another. One of the most convincing examples occurs in the scene in which Sir Oliver—disguised as Stanley, a poor relation—tests Joseph's generosity. In “Sir Peter Teazle” the scene takes place before the arrival of Lady Teazle—i. e. before the screen scene—while Joseph is impatiently awaiting her. Stanley is announced by a servant, Joseph leaves the stage for a short time, and the servant prepares Stanley for the interview by warning him about Joseph's nerves. I give the scene in full as it has not been published:

Surf.—‘Sdeath you Blockhead you should have said I was gone out of Town or sick or anything sooner than have let the Fellow stay to tease me now—you know I expect Lady Teazle to call this morning.

⁴ “The Slanderers,” [p. 4].

⁵ Fraser Rae, p. 155.

⁶ “The Slanderers,” [p. 5].

Serv.—Upon my word, Sir, He was so importunate I knew not what to do—
He insisted on staying 'till you came in & said He was sure you would be glad to see him.

Surf.—Glad to see him indeed—Why the Fellow comes a begging—A Relation of my Mothers as He pretends [*sic*]⁷—says his Name is Stanley doesn't He—

Serv. Yes Sir but He doesn't carry himself as if He came to ask the Favours—

Surf. Yes—Yes I know his Errand—He has plagued me with Letters.—well I must see him—

ex Serv.

This is one bad Effect of a good Character! it invites applications from the unfortunate and it requires no small Degree of Address to gain the Reputation of Benevolence without the expence of it—I must leave Directions to be interrupted as soon as possible (ex.)

Enter Serv. & Sr: Oliver

Serv. My Master—Sir was here this Instant—He will speak to you in a moment—tho' He was very angry with me for suffering you to see him.⁷

Sr: Ol. Impossible Fellow if you told him I was—

Serv. O Lud, Sir, Thence rose his Anger—Sir my master has wonderful weak nerves—He swoonds at the sight of a Poor Relation.

Sr: Ol. He is known to be a man of a most benevolent way of Thinking—

Serv. True Sir—I will venture to say He has as much speculative Benevolence as any private Gentleman in the Kingdom—

Sr: Ol. Tis a heavenly Virtue.

Serv. Yes Sir, and what makes it more estimable in him is his great self denial in the exercise of it—for tho' you may know by his conversation that his Bosom is full of it—yet has [*as?*] his Philosophy denies [*his being*] so sensual as to indulge himself in the exercise of it.—they say Charity [*sic*] begins at home—but my Masters is of that domestic sort that never stirs abroad at all.⁸

In the above passage the humor results from the servant's simple but two-edged remarks and Sir Oliver's sceptical and impatient response to them. By the time this scene appears in the Frampton Court manuscript, it is played between Sir Oliver and Rowley. It is greatly reduced—reduced to the best aphorisms of the original—and the servant's lines are spoken by Rowley.⁹ And while there may be some doubt as to whether or not the servant's words are ironic in the draft play, there can be no doubt that they are ironic when spoken by Rowley, both because he is not sympathetic towards Joseph and

⁷ The opposite page bears the alternative reading: "I am afraid I have brought you too abruptly—I don't [know] how I shall break you to him—for his Nerves are so weak—the sight of a poor Relation may be too much for him."

⁸ "Sir Peter Teazle," II, 1-[3].

⁹ Fraser Rae, pp. 204-205.

because he is the most sensible man in the play. At the same time, however, throughout the rest of the play Rowley is portrayed as a grave but not a witty man. "Honest Rowley" in this one scene steps out of character. This change in him, this inconsistency, comes about not as a result of dramatic action, but as the price paid by Sheridan for his habit of manipulating the plot to fit the dialogue.

Sheridan's careful polishing of lines is generally recognized; in *The School for Scandal* it affects the characterization. The scene of Sir Peter and Lady Teazle's quarrel provides us with an example of the effect of what Macaulay described as "polished taste." In "Sir Peter Teazle" both Sir Peter and his wife are exceedingly forthright to one another—so forthright indeed that a reconciliation seems improbable. Sir Peter is made out to be a doddering old fool and Lady Teazle to be an unconscionable young vixen. Their remarks about their respective reasons for marrying are coarse and unrestrained:

[Lady T.] Why then the Truth is I was heartily tired of all those agreeable Recreations you have so well remember'd—& having a spirit to spend and enjoy a Fortune I was determined to marry the first Fool I could meet with.—& pray what induced you to fix on me. . . .

[Sir P.] O your youth & personal accomplishment to be sure—

[Lady T.] To say truth your Age would have been an insuperable objection—But as I prudently consider'd that as a maid I was then so anxious to be wife—I might even [as] a wife wish as much to be a widow. . . .

[Sir P.] If I were to die what would you do

[Lady T.] countermand my new Brocade—

[Sir P.] you might have [been a] maid still but for me—

[Lady T.] Well you made me a Wife—for which I am much obliged to you & if you have a mind to make me more grateful still make me a widow—¹⁰

The version in the Frampton Court manuscript shows the effect of Sheridan's urbane and witty style. The speeches of both parties are made subtler and more polished; there no longer seems to be a hint of the rolling-pin behind Lady Teazle's spirited repartee:

Sir Pet. This, madam, was your situation—and what have I not done for you? I have made you [a] woman of Fashion of Fortune of Rank—in short I have made you my wife.

Lady Teaz. Well then and there is but one thing more you can make me to add to the obligation.

Sir Pet. What's that pray?

Lady Teaz. Your widow.—

¹⁰ "Sir Peter Teazle," I, [6-7].

Sir Pet. Thank you Madam—but don't flatter yourself for though your ill-conduct may disturb my Peace it shall never break my Heart I promise you—however I am equally obliged to you for the Hint.¹¹

The couple sound more like people of fashion than before, not because they are being more polite, but because their manner of speaking has acquired an elegant cadence and a pretty turn of phrase.

It has been noted by various commentators that Sheridan tends to avoid coarse dialogue in his plays. Walter Sichel attributes this policy to Sheridan's natural "delicacy": "Some coarseness may have lurked under his elegance, but to the last he was proud of never having published a word that could revolt modesty. This unmodish delicacy was due to something more than mere nicety of taste. Though his life was free, his emotions were religious. . . ." ¹² It seems probable, however, that the "something more than mere nicety of taste" consisted of a fine ear for an elegant sentence rather than of any squeamishness about coarse sentiments. The very fact that coarse dialogue finds its way into the draft plays is an indication that it was to Sheridan's taste even if he did not think it fit for publication. Sir Peter Teazle and his wife have been refined and altered when we find them in the final version of *The School for Scandal*, but their transformation is the result of a change from rough to polished prose.

Moore notices in passing Sheridan's practice of retaining "the outstanding jokes . . . in recollection upon the margin, till he can find some opportunity of funding them to advantage in the text"; but he finds it "curious" rather than significant.¹³ In fact, however, Sheridan's delight in his marginal aphorisms sometimes goes so far as to modify whole scenes. The flirtation scene between Young Pliant and Lady Teazle is a good example. Moore points out Sheridan's apparent obsession with the saying: ". . . you would have me sin in my own defence, and part with my virtue to preserve my reputation."¹⁴ As he states, it appears frequently, scrawled upon the pages of the draft play manuscripts. This single aphorism seems to be responsible for the course taken by Lady Teazle's flirting. Her statement that reason and not passion will rule her actions is out of character with her behaviour and sentiments throughout the rest of the play; but if the flirtation scene is to be concluded with Sheridan's sophisticated paradox there can be no alternative preamble. In the draft play Lady Teazle cuts short Young Pliant's passionate effusions with:

¹¹ Fraser Rae, p. 160.

¹² *Sheridan* (London, 1909), I, 108.

¹³ Moore, I, 247.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 234n.

Nay nay I will have no Raptures either—This much I can tell you that if [I] am to be seduced to do wrong—I am not to be taken by Storm . . . but [by] a deliberate capitulation—and that only where my reason or my Head is convinced—¹⁵

Young Pliant rises to the occasion :

[Young P.] Then to say it once the world gives itself Libertys—

[Lady T.] Nay—I am sure without cause for I am as yet unconscious of any ill tho' I know not what I may be forced to.

[Young P.] The Fact is my dear Lady Teaze—that your extreme Innocence is the very cause of your Danger—it is the integrity of your Heart which makes you run into a Thousand Imprudences—which a full consciousness of Error would make you guard against—now in that case you can't conceive how much more circumspect you would be—

[Lady T.] Do you think so—

[Young P.] most certainly in short—your character is like a person in a Pl[ethora] absolutely—dying of too much Health

[Lady T.] So then—you have me sin in my own Defence—& part with my Virtue to Preserve my Reputation—¹⁶

When this scene appears in the Frampton Court manuscript Sheridan seems to have realized that the maxim is too sophisticated for the naive and innocent Lady Teaze, and he provides Joseph Surface—who succeeds Young Pliant—with more lines to lead her up to it. Nevertheless, the remark still seems inappropriate.¹⁷ An examination of the flirtation scene strongly suggests that the tone of the dialogue has been determined by the aphorism with which it concludes. Sheridan seems to have been aware of the consequent shortcomings but reluctant to lose so pretty a piece of wit.

The four examples which I have offered illustrate various ways in which Sheridan's dialogue has a determining effect upon the dramatic action of *The School for Scandal*. The first shows the transfer of whole pieces of dialogue from one character to another. From it we can conclude that some at least of the dialogue of *The School for Scandal* has no effect upon or relevance to the plot. The second offers an explanation of inconsistency of characterization in the play—characters are given one another's lines, and these sometimes prove inappropriate. The third shows the kind of modification of character

¹⁵ "Sir Peter Teaze," I, [33].

¹⁶ Ibid., I, [33].

¹⁷ Interestingly enough it was omitted from the Dublin edition of 1799, but the authority of this text is too much in question for us to be able to tell whether or not the omission had Sheridan's sanction.

which results from the polishing of Sheridan's prose. And the fourth demonstrates the importance of the aphorism in the action of the play.

Once having conceived the draft plays in terms of dialogue, Sheridan was reluctant to lose any of his witty sayings. In spite of the difficulties involved in constructing a coherent story out of the situations he had drawn, he was loath to abandon a single dictum. The plot of *The School for Scandal* is the invention which somehow manages to connect the original scenes together.

A preoccupation with witty sayings and brilliant dialogue seems to account for both the unique virtues and the special faults of *The School for Scandal*. It is probable that the fusion of the draft plays, far from being the cause of the defects, simply served to accentuate the characteristics of what was for Sheridan a habitual method of writing plays. The success of this method is amply attested to by the continuing popularity of *The Rivals* and *The School for Scandal*; in this kind of comedy it seems possible that wit is as important an element of composition as action.

Princeton University

J. R. DEJ. JACKSON

Swinburne's Greek Plays and God, "The Supreme Evil"

When Swinburne published *Atalanta in Calydon*, in 1865, the play was, on the whole, well received. The young poet was praised for the developing flexibility and depth of his work, for he had not merely conformed to the needs of Greek drama but actually absorbed many of its qualities.¹ There was, however, one jarring element in the play: Swinburne's bitter attack upon the divine treatment of man. Not only was the attack distasteful to the Victorian reader, it was also said to exceed the limits of Greek tragedy. Althea's attitude toward the gods and accusations of injustice placed a strain upon the fidelity of the play, but it was one long, beautifully written chorus which introduced the most shocking departure from traditional references to the divine nature.

Beginning in the third stasimon, at line 1038, the chorus asks, "who hath given man speech," and ends nearly two hundred lines

¹ See "Atalanta in Calydon," *The Nation*, I (1865), 590.

later by advising silence. It is the central part of this speech which Douglas Bush called "that tremendous climax of blasphemy,"² and which the critic for *The Nation* said "injures the whole dramatic conception and is untrue to the Greek model."³ The chorus, in a direct attack, begins with this statement:

But up in heaven the high gods one by one
Lay hands upon the draught that quickeneth,
Fulfilled with all tears shed and all things done,
And stir with soft imperishable breath
The bubbling bitterness of life and death,
And hold it to our lips and laugh; . . .

It moves through a transition of thought to examine the possible mortality of the gods, and so to the wish "That life were given them as a fruit to eat / And death to drink as water," that the gods might "grieve as men, and like slain men be slain."

Immediately upon this juxtaposition of gods and men, Swinburne moved to the idea, only hinted at occasionally by Euripides, that there is a god above the other gods.

For we know not of them; but one saith
The gods are gracious, praising God; and one,
When hast thou seen?

Now speaking of the capitalized *God*, he continued:

None hath beheld him, none
Seen above other gods and shapes of things,
Swift without feet and flying without wings,
Intolerable, not clad with life or death,
Insatiable, not known of night or day,
The lord of love and loathing and of strife
Who gives a star and takes a sun away.

Listing His terrible power and unjust acts, Swinburne ended by calling Him "the supreme evil, God." Now he addressed this God directly, and clearly visualized more than the Greeks' unknown god; in fact, the jealous God of the Hebrews.⁴

² Douglas Bush, *Mythology and the Romantic Tradition in English Poetry* (Cambridge, Mass., 1937), p. 340.

³ *The Nation*, 1 (1865), 591.

⁴ The supreme being of Euripides, sometimes referred to as Zeus, is usually depersonalized, and, although a directing intellect, not vicious. See *Hercules*, 1263; *Orestes*, 418; *Helen*, 711-19, and especially *Troades*, 884-88. In contrast to Swinburne's chorus, Iphigenia says, in *Iphigenia in Taurus*, 391: οὐδὲν γὰρ ὄλμαι διαμόρων εἶναι κακόν.

Yea, with thine hate, O God, thou hast covered us,
 One saith, and hidden our eyes away from sight,
 And made us transitory and hazardous,
 Light things and slight;
 Yet men have praised thee, saying, He hath made man thus,
 And he doeth right.

The tirade flowed on, only slightly abated, until Swinburne reached the anti-climax with a cry of defiance from the chorus.

At least we witness of thee ere we die
 That these things are not otherwise, but thus;
 That each man in his heart sigheth, and saith,
 That all men even as I,
 All we are against thee, against thee, O God most high.

It is not surprising that the critics should have noted the departure of such a passage from the Greek models, and that the reading public should have been shocked by the blasphemy, rightly interpreting his attacks as directed against a Hebraic, and ultimately a Christian, God.

Although *Atalanta in Calydon* met with more acclaim than disapproval, Swinburne did not attempt another Greek tragedy for some time. In the interim his succeeding publications held further shocking attacks upon God and indications of concern with God's injustice toward man, especially apparent in many of the poems of the first series of *Poems and Ballads* (1866). His preoccupation with the subject is even revealed in *William Blake* (1868), where he found that in Urizen,

... 'Father of jealousy' ... are incarnate that jealousy which the Hebrews acknowledged and that envy which the Greeks recognized in the divine nature; in his worship faith remains one with fear.⁵

Incidentally, this passage also explains Swinburne's assumption that he could merge a Hebraic God with his Greek tragedy.

In *Songs Before Sunrise* (1871), the attacks continued, but now Swinburne had directed his interest toward Italy and toward the freedom of man, and his bitterness lessened with the new focus of attention. *Bothwell* (1874) and his collected *Essays and Studies* (1875) gave little indication of his antagonism toward God.

In 1876, Swinburne finally returned to Greek tragedy, with the publication of *Erechtheus*. This time the critics were unanimous in their praise of his ability to identify himself with the spirit of Greek

⁵ *William Blake* (London, 1868), pp. 192-93.

tragedy. *The Athenaeum's* critic said: "In 'Erechtheus,' . . . there is little to tell us that the poem is not a translation from Euripides";⁶ a "compliment" which infuriated Swinburne, who despised Euripides. *The Spectator* printed a long tribute, part of which read,

. . . there is just enough of religious awe and mystery in the old Greek tragedy, . . . to carry Mr. Swinburne's sympathies with it, without awakening his iconoclastic scorn and defiance. In some respects this play is even more true to the spirit of the Aeschylean and Sophoclean tragedy than *Atalanta*. There is not in it the same note of aweless defiance which is anything but harmonious with the mold of the great school in which these two poems of his are cast. Reverence of the Hellenic kind runs through this play, and there are no Titanic bursts of mingled despair and wrath such as here and there disfigure the severe beauty of *Atalanta*.⁷

Even later critics found the same distinction in the moods of the poems. Samuel C. Chew commented:

. . . in contrast to the dark rebellious fatalism which sounds through the grace and glitter of 'Atalanta,' 'Erechtheus' contains no abuse of the gods. To our minds the tragedy may seem to evolve from the petty and directionless cruelty of the old divinities; but the actors know otherwise: . . .⁸

Douglas Bush agrees too, and expands upon the new mood.

Instead of an attack upon religion, for which the subject offers far better occasion than the subject of *Atalanta*, there is nothing but complete reverence for the gods, reverence more complete than even Sophocles would have thought necessary.⁹

But he continues immediately, to add:

One may indeed prefer the theatrical but sincere 'atheism' of *Atalanta* to the pure but manufactured piety of *Erechtheus*, for the religious element, whatever may be thought of other elements, is assuredly *pastiche*. Since the days of *Atalanta* Swinburne had, to be sure, heard a call to messianic duty, but, if one may mix metaphors, the leopard had not altogether changed his spots.

Bush's statement has more truth in it than even he realized, for Swinburne had quite definitely not "changed his spots." Perhaps Bush did not analyse the religious elements of the poem more closely because, as he confessed, . . .

⁶ "Mr. Swinburne's 'Erechtheus,'" *The Athenaeum* (Jan.-June, 1876), 13.

⁷ "Mr. Swinburne's 'Erechtheus,'" *The Spectator*, XLIX (1876), 15.

⁸ Samuel C. Chew, *Swinburne* (Boston, 1929), p. 131.

⁹ Bush, p. 131.

In Erechtheus the impulse to skip is more frequent and irresistible, and indeed one may turn over a couple of pages without noticing a break in the continuity.¹⁰

As he has noted, the subject offers ample opportunity for an attack upon religion, for, according to Chew, "the tragedy may seem to evolve from the petty and directionless cruelty of the older divinities." The plot involves, after all, the sacrifice of Chthonia by Erechtheus, as directed by the gods, for the salvation of Athens. Furthermore, it tells of the self-sacrifice of his two remaining daughters at the same altar, recalls the loss of his two eldest daughters through the actions of the gods, and finally tells of his own death at the very hand of Zeus, as foretold to Erechtheus himself.

With all of these calamities heaped upon him, it is small wonder that Erechtheus should question aloud the treatment which he receives from the gods. There is a strong echo of Althea's attitude in Erechtheus's appraisal of his own great virtues, as opposed to those of the citizens, and of their comparative treatment by the gods. The citizens receive—

Life of their children, flower of all their seed,
For all their travail fruit, for all their hopes
Harvest; but we, for all our good things we
Have at their hands which fill all these folk full,
Death, barrenness, child-slaughter, curses, cares,
Sea-leaguer and land shipwreck; . . .

Yet Marion Clyde Wier is correct when he says, "Erechtheus, under provocation, assumes a temper toward the gods similar to Althea's, but under better control,"¹¹ for although he does not praise the gods, he obeys them and seldom questions.

If the matter of religious attitude were limited to the characters of Althea and Erechtheus, the critics would be right in asserting that *Erechtheus* is virtually free of "aweless defiance." But in *Atalanta* by far the worst attack upon God was found in one of the choruses, and of *Erechtheus* the critic for *The Spectator* has noted:

Now and then, no doubt, there is a certain obscurity in some of the choruses, and an obscurity which is not quite of the Greek kind; . . .¹²

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 344-45.

¹¹ Marion Clyde Wier, *The Influence of Aeschylus and Euripides on the Structure and Content of Swinburne's Atalanta in Calydon and Erechtheus* (Ann Arbor, 1920), p. 45.

¹² *The Spectator*, p. 15.

Unfortunately, he did not continue the analysis, but he certainly had in mind one particular chorus, just as in *Atalanta*. By further coincidence, the questionable chorus is also contained in the third stasimon of *Erechtheus*, beginning at line 754.

Who shall put a bridle in the mourner's lips to chasten them,
Or seal up the fountains of his tears for shame?

The Old Testament flavour of these lines is unmistakable, although Wier calls this a "Greek rhythm that is rather unusual in English."¹³ Nor can it be questioned that Swinburne often used biblical phraseology, allusion, and paraphrase, twisting the source to suit his own, sometimes perverse, ends.¹⁴ Even Wier notes, with surprise, that he uses biblical material in at least two places in *Atalanta*.¹⁵ Moreover, the image used here, of the bridle in a human mouth, is extremely unusual. Yet it is used in the Bible in three places; Psalm 39:1, 2 Kings, 19:28, and Isaiah, 37:29, the last two being identical accounts of one story. That story tells of the siege of Jerusalem by the Assyrians in Hezekiah's reign, an incident parallel to the siege of Athens in *Erechtheus*. The parallel includes Hezekiah and Erechtheus, for within ten verses of the bridle image the righteous Hezekiah is struck down by God. He prays to God, in a passage similar to that in which Erechtheus questions his fate.

I beseech thee, O Lord, remember now how I have walked before thee in truth and with a perfect heart, and have done that which is good in thy sight. (20: 3.)

As a further parallel, of course, both cities are saved through the actions of their rulers.

One of the most striking points to note is that the surrounding chapters are full of passages describing the wrath of the jealous God of Israel. For example:

And the Lord rejected all the seed of Israel, and afflicted them, and delivered them into the hand of spoilers, until he had cast them out of his sight. (18: 20.)

Here is the taunting speech of Rab-shakeh to the Israelites, which,

¹³ Wier, *Swinburne's Atalanta and Erechtheus* (Ann Arbor, 1922), notes, p. 99.

¹⁴ For a partial handling of this subject see "Mr. Swinburne's Debt to the Bible," *The Scottish Review*, III (April, 1884), 266-85.

¹⁵ Wier, *Swinburne's Atalanta*, etc., pp. 18 & 42.

incidentally, parallels the dialogue between Erechtheus and the herald of Eumolpus immediately before this chorus.

33: Hath any of the gods of the nations delivered at all his land out of the hand of the king of Assyria?

34: Where are the gods of Hamath, and of Arpad? where are the gods of Sepharviam, Hena, and Ivah? have they delivered Samaria out of mine hand?

35: Who are they among all the gods of the countries, that have delivered their country out of mine hand, that the Lord should deliver Jerusalem out of mine hand?

It may seem, despite the surrounding parallels, that one image is too slight a bridge by which to connect the chorus itself with biblical passages describing the worst side of God. Swinburne, however, makes use of a long series of images within this same chorus which also have the ring of Old Testament English and, strangely enough, the latter half of this group provides another, much stronger, parallel of Jerusalem and Athens. This time Swinburne turns to the fall of Jerusalem in the time of Jeremiah. His passage begins at line 811.

With a blast of the mouth of what bridegroom the
crowns shall be cast from her hair,

And her head by what altar made humble be left of
them naked and bare?

At a shrine unbeloved of a God un beholden a gift
shall be given for the land,

That its ramparts though shaken with clamour and
horror of manifold waters may stand:

That the crests of its citadels crowned and its
turrets that thrust up their heads to the sun

May behold him unblinded with darkness of waves
overmastering their bulwarks begun.

In Lamentations, chapter 2, Jeremiah bewails the misery of Jerusalem, saying of the Lord that "he burneth against Jacob like a flaming fire, which devoureth round about."

7: The Lord hath cast off his altar, he hath abhorred his sanctuary, he hath given up into the hand of the enemy the walls of her palaces; they have made a noise in the house of the Lord, as in the day of a solemn feast.

8: The Lord hath purposed to destroy the wall of the daughter of Zion: he hath stretched out a line, he hath not withdrawn his hand from destroying: therefore he made the rampart and the wall to lament; they are languished together.

13: . . . what shall I equal to thee, that I may comfort thee, O virgin daughter of Zion? for thy breach is great like the sea: who can heal thee?

Swinburne continues with the words—

Shall a virgin's blood shield thine head for love
O city,
With a virgin's blood anointed as for pride?

and verse twenty-one says:

The young and the old lie on the ground in the streets: my virgins and my young men are fallen by the sword; thou hast slain them in the day of thine anger; thou hast killed and not pitied.

Mingled with the imagery of the virgin Chthonia's death for the salvation of Athens, by divine decree, is the imagery of the fall of Jerusalem and the death of her virgins, also by divine decree. God had caused Zedekiah to rebel against Babylon, to bring the fall of Jerusalem. Jeremiah 52: 3 says:

For through the anger of the Lord it came to pass in Jerusalem and Judah, till he had cast them out of his presence, that Zedekiah rebelled against the king of Babylon.

This is only two chapters before the book of Lamentations. Finally, there is a possible link to the second line of the chorus in Lamentations 2, with "let tears run down like a river day and night." The beautiful passage which describes Athens may also be compared with the beautiful description of Jerusalem the Golden.

Swinburne appears to have recalled the plight of Jerusalem when he wrote of Athens, but he also seems to have recalled the sufferings of Job, one of the most cruelly treated men in the Bible, when he wrote of Erechtheus. What more likely group could fulfill the question which begins this chorus than the comforters of Job, who tried to chastise and shame him in his mourning? It is certain that Swinburne had him in mind when he wrote the first thirty or forty lines of the chorus, for although few of the phrases may be perfectly matched, image after image finds its counterpart within the book of Job. Here are some of the similarities.

Death at last for all men is a harbour; yet they
flee from it,

9: 25 Now my days are swifter than a post: they flee away, they see no good.

26 They are passed away as the swift ships: . . .

Bitter and strange is the word of the God most high,

13:26 For thou writest bitter things against me, . . .

9:18 He will not suffer me to take my breath, but filleth me with bitterness.

And steep the strait of his way,

36:16 Even so would he have removed thee out of the strait into a broad place, where there is no straitness; . . .

Through a pass rock-rimmed and narrow the light
that gleams

On the faces of men falls faint as the dawn of dreams,
The dayspring of death as a star in an under sky
Where night is the dead man's day.

10:21 . . . I go whence I shall not return, even to the land of darkness and the shadow of death; a land of darkness, as darkness itself; and of the shadow of death, without any order, and where the light is as darkness.

As darkness and storm is his will that on earth is done.

9:17 For he breaketh me with a tempest, . . .

As a cloud is the face of his strength.

37:15 Dost thou know when God disposed them, and caused the light of his cloud to shine?

King of kings, holiest of holies, and mightiest of might,
Lord of the lords of thine heaven that are humble
in thy sight,¹⁸

Hast thou set not an end for the path of the fires
of the sun,
To appoint him a rest at length?

9:7 Which commandeth the sun, and it riseth not; and seaeth up the stars.

Hast thou not told by measure the waves of the
waste wide sea,
And the ways of the wind their master and thrall
to thee?

11:9 The measure thereof is longer than the earth, and broader than the sea.

28:24 For he looketh to the ends of the earth, and seeth under the whole heaven; (25) To make the weight for the winds; and he weigheth the waters by measure.

Has thine ear not heard from old or thine eye not read

13:1 Lo, mine eye hath seen all this, mine ear hath heard and understood it.

¹⁸ Wier sees an interesting parallel in Aeschylus to these biblical lines, made famous in the Hallelujah Chorus:

Ἀναξ ἀνάκτων, μακάρων μακάρτατε καὶ τελών
τελειότατον κράτος, ὀλβιε ζεῦ.

Swinburne's *Atalanta*, etc., notes, p. 100.

Hast thou not made war upon earth, and again made peace?

12:23 He increaseth the nations, and destroyeth them: he enlargeth the nations and straiteneth them again.

Take off us thy burden, and give us not wholly to death.

Any of the numerous pleas of Job would suffice to match this line. The following line has already been noted as a part of the Jerusalem images, but it is linked with the Job images too.

With a blast of the mouth of what bridegroom the
crowns shall be cast from her hair,

19:9 He hath stripped me of my glory, and taken the crown from my head.

In all, the evidence seems conclusive that Swinburne had in mind God's incomprehensible treatment of Hezekiah and Jerusalem, and his extreme cruelty to Job, mingling the imagery of Athens, Chthonia, and Jerusalem; Erechtheus, Hezekiah, and Job; and Zeus, the unknown god, and the Hebraic God, still producing a passage of great beauty. He had not forgotten his preoccupation with God's apparent injustice or caprice. On the contrary, he must have perused the Bible constantly, noting the many passages which could support his conviction that God is "the supreme evil." Gosse has said of Swinburne's passion against Euripides that "he carried this prejudice . . . from school time to the grave."¹⁷ If he could remain adamant against a Greek dramatist, surely his anti-religious feelings must have remained with him too. There seems no doubt that he inserted an attack against God into *Erechtheus*, fully as aweless and defiant as that in *Atalanta*, though it was merged with the thought, structure, and imagery of the play so artistically as to escape notice by critics and scholars to the present.

University of Saskatchewan

H. A. HARGREAVES

Dialogue and Theme in *Tender is the Night*

Fitzgerald's handling of dialogue in *Tender is the Night* has not so far received sufficient critical attention. In this article I intend to examine three quotations to demonstrate that it is, in fact, in the dialogue that the essential theme of the novel is most clearly revealed.

¹⁷ Wier, *The Influence*, etc., p. 9.

In the early part of the novel we witness the Divers' relationship through the innocent eyes of Rosemary, who "knew the Divers loved each other because it had been her primary assumption."¹ The Divers have a party to which Dick invites Rosemary and her mother. There has been no indication before this point that Dick is interested in Rosemary, though she already loves him, and, to Rosemary, Nicole seems a cool self-possessed woman of the world. At the party Dick makes the following apparently empty remarks to Rosemary and her mother.

"What a beautiful garden," Mrs. Speers exclaimed.

"Nicole's garden," said Dick. "She won't let it alone. She nags it all the time, worries about its diseases. Any day now I expect to have her come down with Powdery Mildew or Fly Speck or Late Blight." He pointed his forefinger decisively at Rosemary, saying with a lightness seeming to conceal a paternal interest,

"I'm going to save your reason—I'm going to give you a hat to wear on the beach."

He turned them from the garden to the terrace, where he poured a cocktail. (p. 85)

Here, without any pursuit of the Freudian convolutions of the forefinger and the hat, Dick's unconscious preoccupations lie clear under the light, flippant, almost meaningless remarks. He stresses Nicole's ownership of the garden, revealing his own touchiness about the fact that they live on her money. His preoccupation with Nicole's disease is equally apparent and combined with his interest in Rosemary (*seeming* to conceal a paternal interest) expresses almost a wish that Nicole might become totally sick. Then his sudden leap to "I'm going to save your reason" (just as he consciously set out, at the beginning of his relationship with Nicole, to save hers) reveals, as does the reference to paternal affection, that he is already thinking of Rosemary as he did of Nicole at the beginning of the novel. For, as I shall point out in more detail later, an integral part of the theme is that Dick's affair with Rosemary repeats for him every stage of his original feeling for Nicole.

The second quotation is taken from the final section of the book. Consciously, and this part of the novel is seen from Nicole's viewpoint, Nicole still respects Dick. She still regards herself as dependent on

¹ *Tender is the Night* ed. Malcolm Cowley in *Three Novels of F. Scott Fitzgerald* (New York, 1953), p. 137. All subsequent page numbers given immediately in the text refer to this edition.

him, just as he still consciously maintains that he loves her and consciously ignores the possibility of an affair between her and Tommy Barban. But their true unconscious relationship, unrealised by either of them at this juncture, is clearly revealed to the reader in the exchange that takes place between them the morning after Dick has made a fool of himself on Golding's yacht. Nicole sits between Dick and Tommy, making a sketch of Tommy's head.

"Hands never idle—distaff flying," Dick said lightly.

How could he talk so trivially with the blood still drained down from his cheeks so that the auburn lather of beard showed red as his eyes? She turned to Tommy saying:

"I can always do something. I used to have a nice active little Polynesian ape and juggle him around for hours till people began to make the most dismal rough jokes—"

She kept her eyes resolutely away from Dick. Presently he excused himself and went inside. (p. 296)

Here Dick's suspicions are apparent to the reader in his opening remark, which ironically stresses their relationship as man and wife. But he speaks *lightly*, unaware of his own motive for saying it. And Nicole does not understand the unconscious barb any more than he does. To her he is talking *trivially*. Her own hidden contempt for Dick is even more obvious (though significantly not to either her or Dick or, we assume, Tommy) in her reference to the Polynesian ape after she has just noticed the red growth of beard on Dick's face and the redness of his eyes. Moreover what is further revealed by her remarks here—"I used to have a nice . . . ape and juggle him around"—is that at this point she is unconsciously viewing Dick as her sister has viewed him from the beginning; as bought with the Warren money, to serve the Warren purposes. She does not, as the action continues, persist in this view, but it brushes her mind, recorded only in the dialogue.

The third example occurs towards the end of the novel. At this point Nicole feels herself "so delicately balanced . . . between an old foothold that had always guaranteed her security, and the imminence of a leap from which she must alight changed in the very chemistry of blood and muscle, that she did not dare bring the matter into the true forefront of consciousness" (p. 298). Dick feels himself to have "gone into a process of deterioration" (p. 304). Rosemary, whom neither have seen for some time, comes to visit them at Antibes.

Just before the passage to be quoted here Rosemary has been sur-

prised at Dick's bitterness about Mary North. She had "thought of him as all-forgiving, all-comprehending" (p. 305). Then the following scene takes place:

... She [Nicole] guessed that Dick ... would grow charming ... make Rosemary respond to him. Sure enough, in a moment ... he had said:

"Mary's all right—. . . But it's hard to go on liking people who don't like you."

Rosemary, falling into line, swayed toward Dick and crooned:

"Oh, you're so nice. I can't imagine anybody not forgiving you anything, no matter what you did to them."

Rosemary then goes on to ask what they have thought of her latest pictures. Nicole says nothing but Dick goes on:

"... Let's suppose that Nicole says to you that Lanier is ill. What do you do in life? What does anyone do? They *act*—... the face shows sorrow, the voice shows shock, the words show sympathy." ...

"But, in the theatre, no ... all the best comédiennes have built up their reputations by burlesquing the correct emotional responses—fear and love and sympathy." ...

"The danger to an actress is in responding. Again let's suppose that somebody told you, 'Your lover is dead.' In life you'd probably go to pieces. But on the stage you're trying to entertain—the audience can do the 'responding' for themselves. First the actress has lines to follow, then she has to get the audience's attention back on herself. ... So she must do something unexpected. If the audience thinks the character is hard she goes soft on them—if they think she's soft she goes hard. You go all *out* of character—you understand?" ...

"You do the unexpected thing until you've manoeuvred the audience back from the objective fact to yourself. *Then* you slide into character again." (pp. 305-306)

This is clearly no answer at all to Rosemary's question about her pictures; yet everything Dick says is intensely relevant to his relationship with Rosemary, and with Nicole. That something of crucial importance has clearly been communicated to the two women, though not at the conscious level, is clear from their actions following the conversation. Rosemary turns to the Divers' daughter, Topsy, and asks her "Would you like to be an actress when you grow up?" indicating that a part of herself has understood that Dick has been discussing his own relationship with her and that the relationship has been, at a certain level, that of father and daughter. Nicole, who has, we are told, consciously understood nothing immediately remarks, "in her grandfather's voice," "it's absolutely *out* to put such ideas in the

heads of other people's children." She then leaves; and in the scene immediately following she has "a sense of being cured and in a new way. Her ego blooming like a great rich rose" (p. 307).

Dick begins by making an unconscious comment on Rosemary's reaction to the appeal of his "It's hard to go on liking people who don't like you." It is, as it were, dawning on him that she is burlesquing. She has "gone soft" to get the audience's (Dick's) attention "back on herself." He is acknowledging the truth about her. She is an actress in life. She does not "respond." Her audience does so. But this truth about Rosemary is a truth also about himself. In Paris Rosemary had "said her most sincere thing to him: 'Oh we're such actors—you and I'" (p. 167). He had, he is suggesting, in his bitterness about Mary North, been doing the "unexpected thing," to get Rosemary's attention back on himself. He had done the unexpected in being bitter and unpleasant and is now "sliding into character again": the character of the charming, protective, essentially paternal figure. The sense that this is only a *role* and not his true nature is, I think, the main significance of this passage for Dick himself. And his apparently off-hand examples, "Let's suppose Nicole says to you that Lanier is ill," "Suppose that somebody told you, 'Your lover is dead'" indicate that at least a hint about the real truth of his own nature and of his relationship with Nicole is already afloat in his mind. This is a truth Nicole has begun to recognise a little earlier when in response to his wish to show his skill on the aquaplane "she indulged him as she might have indulged Lanier" (p. 301).

The passage reveals a dim awareness, then, on Dick's part, that no real relationship has ever existed between himself and Rosemary and that none can exist—because each of them is incapable of "responding." Unconsciously he also senses that the role he has maintained with Nicole is now slipping from him, that he is the child, the dependent and that she is sliding back "into character again." For Nicole the return to "character" is to be a return, as she tells Tommy Barban, to her "true self."

If my interpretation of these three examples is valid, it is clear that Fitzgerald reveals in his dialogue both what his characters consciously know and communicate to each other, and what lies buried beneath the surface of their own and others' consciousness where the truth about themselves and their relationships is to be found. And this buried knowledge is revealed only in the dialogue. Fitzgerald,

as author, makes no explicit comment upon it and neither do any of the characters. "Here [in the world of the novel] there is no light" as the quotation from Keats on the title-page suggests there will not be.

Further this interpretation of the dialogue suggests that Dick Diver's tragedy is internal and not caused by the corrupting influence of Nicole's wealth. This is assuredly a contributing factor, since it affords Dick, as no other condition could, the opportunity to use to the full what is in fact his only talent (despite his own and others' misapprehensions about his brilliance); that is, his charm and great social ability. It is his final realization of the fact that this is all he in fact has, that destroys him. For in realising this, he realises also that despite his varied relationships, his apparent adult control of them, and his ability to arouse "a fascinating and uncritical love in others for himself," he is unable to love. He is capable not of responding, or of acting, but only of burlesquing.

Nicole's return to "her original self" (p. 298) results from a similar realisation of the hidden truth about herself. She understands that her dependence on Dick has been in fact her disease: a false dependence on a false reality.

The true nature of their relationship with each other is forced upon them both by Dick's parallel relationship with Rosemary. The discussion of the 1st example on pages 2 and 3 above suggests that with both women, Dick plays the *role* of father.² And it is clear that both Nicole and Rosemary attribute this *role* to him. Nicole, who was Rosemary's age when she first met Dick, leans on him for support as she might on an 'ideal' father until her return to health, when she abandons "her dry suckling at his lean chest" (p. 297). Her view of him as father is so complete that in her mad spells she sees him as the 'evil' father who seduced her (p. 174).

And that this is Rosemary's view of him is made equally clear. He is to her "the beautiful cold image she had created" (p. 167), the idealised image of her dead father. Dick's refusal to take Rosemary when she offers herself in Paris confirms this image in her mind. When later Dick does make physical demands the result is to destroy whatever potential she may have had for real love. Her experience with him, in other words, parallels subtly and psychologically the brutal physical disillusion of Nicole as a child with her actual father.

² Robert Stanton has drawn attention to this aspect of Dick's relationships in his "'Daddy's Girl': Symbol and Theme in *Tender is the Night*," *Modern Fiction Studies*, iv (Summer, 1958), 136-142.

The relationships are complicated by the fact that Dick, like the two women, has assumed that the thin layer of his "attentive seriousness" has concealed a deep fund of adult love and power. Whereas in fact, as the discussion of the third example indicates, he has been an actor burlesquing "the correct emotional responses." Incapable of loving, he has been beneath his *role*, a child seeking parental love—as he is in his final conversation with Mary North when "His eyes, for a moment clear as a child's, asked her sympathy" (p. 332). His "lesion of vitality," then, is rooted, as are Nicole's and Rosemary's, in a past family relationship; and the 'adult' relationships of all three are conditioned by this.

If this interpretation is accepted, it is clear that *Tender is the Night* is not a fumbling attempt to reproduce again what Alfred Kazin describes as Fitzgerald's only theme, "the fitful glaring world of Jay Gatsby's dream and of Jay Gatsby's failure."² The novel has its weaknesses, but these result, at least partly, from Fitzgerald's attempt to express a new theme. He is here concerned, as not before, with the hidden roots of adult relationships; and with the waste that results from the characters' misunderstanding of themselves and of each other. Throughout the novel this misunderstanding is the result of their mistaking *persona* for true self, even though in their communication with each other the preoccupations, motives, and desires of that true self are constantly revealed to the attentive reader.

University of British Columbia

WILLIAM F. HALL

A Farewell to Arms: Hemingway and Peele

The tie between George Peele's "A Farewell to Arms" and Hemingway's novel seems stronger and more pervasive than the similarity of themes described by Mr. Jerome Mazzaro recently.¹ The link between the works is not merely the comparable changes in Peele's courtier and Hemingway's hero but especially the *contrast* between the courtier's unchanging belief and Frederick Henry's inability to find belief. This contrast provides the basis for the structure and irony of the novel.

² A. Kazin, *On Native Grounds* (New York, 1956), p. 249.

¹ "George Peele and *A Farewell to Arms: A Thematic Tie?*" *MLN*, LXXV (1960), pp. 118-119.

The poet, speaking as man-at-arms to his Queen, describes in the characteristic terms of Elizabethan verse the effects of time on the knight who must exchange his arms for piety, his lover's sonnets for holy psalms. The heart of the poem lies in the lines "Beauty, strength, youth, are flowers but fading seen; / Duty, faith, love, are roots, and ever green." This sentiment and the language are, of course, traditional in court poetry. But the irony in the novel is sharpened by the very depth and age of the tradition. For the poet in 1597, "His youth against time and age hath ever spurned, / but spurned in vain"; so the Elizabethan turns to changeless values, duty, faith and love, manifested in the loyalty of the aged beadsman as much as in the strength of the young man: "Goddess, allow this aged man his right / To be your beadsman that was your knight."

The courtier's constancy in duty, faith, and love in the face of the denigrations of time is the theme of the poem. In Hemingway's novel the effects of time are accelerated by the war. The affair between Frederick Henry and Catherine Barkley begins as a "rotten game," a mere war time seduction, and soon moves into the complete involvement where in the few hours before he must return to the front Frederick engages the room in Milan. The honking taxi suggests Marvell's poem, and he quotes for Catherine: "But at my back I always hear / Time's winged chariot hurrying near." Time affects Frederick as well as the poet; but for the lovers in the novel it has become absurd. Their relation to the conventional lover's *carpe diem* is precisely that of a honking taxi to a winged chariot.

The sense of time is obviously important in poem and novel. The difference in the latter, however, is in the absence of "changeless qualities," the roots that are ever green. In this difference lies the quality that makes it, like Eliot's *Wasteland*, a microcosm of our time. The very structure of the novel follows Henry's experience of "duty, faith, and love." Each in turn fails to yield any universal meaning; and instead of a simple Elizabethan antiphony of changing time and changeless value there is a dissonance of meaningless duty and unattained faith. The dissonance merges into love; in the end, however, as Robert Penn Warren points out, profane love does not change into divine love, but dissolves into the nothingness of darkness and rain.²

Frederick Henry's experiencing of the meaning of duty comprises the first phase of the novel. War has corrupted words which tradi-

² *A Farewell to Arms* (New York, Scribners, 1953), Introduction, pp. xxx, xxxi.

tionally described the soldier's duty, so that "abstract words such as glory, honor, courage, or hallow were obscene beside the concrete names of villages, the numbers of roads, the names of rivers, the numbers of regiments and the dates."³ The words *sacred*, *glorious*, and *sacrifice*, and the expression *in vain* were embarrassing to him as he stood in the rain listening to the pompous speeches. Finally, Frederick said farewell to the duty of the man-at-arms when he escaped from the indiscriminate executions after the retreat from Caporetto and plunged into the flooded stream.

The problem of religious faith, suggested by Henry's admiration for and conversations with the priest from Abruzzi, now becomes more complex and intense. In the earlier conversations Henry had said that although "he was afraid in the night sometimes," he did not love God. The priest urged that he must know some of the meanings of love: "When you love you wish to do things for. You wish to sacrifice for. You wish to serve" (page 75). These words and particularly the word *sacrifice* are the ones that have become hollow and absurd as descriptions of duty. Yet they seem less absurd in relation to faith. After his escape and his return to Catherine at Stresa, Henry meets an old friend, the Count Greffi, a ninety-four-year-old diplomat. Greffi asks Henry whether he has become *Croyant*. The answer, "At night," suggests the same attitude that he revealed to the priest earlier. When Greffi asks, "If you become devout, pray for me if I am dead," Henry replies, "I might become very devout. Anyway, I will pray for you." Although for Henry faith may be meaningful in the future, apart from his love it has no meaning in the present. Neither the Lieutenant nor Greffi can "feed on prayers, which are age his alms." But the old count readily perceives the deepest feeling in the younger man: "Then too you are in love. Do not forget that is a religious feeling" (page 272).

The third of the constants in Peele's poem, love, becomes the last resource, or "home" as Carlos Baker suggests, of the wandering protagonist in the novel.⁴ The idyllic scene in the mountains of Switzerland is spiritually as distant from the war-time seduction at the first of the novel as the mountains are from the plains. Catherine becomes an ikon; *eros*, if the tradition were to be followed, would become *agape*. As she approaches death in childbirth, Henry cries, "God please make

³ *A Farewell to Arms*, 191. Subsequent page references given in the text are from the 1953 edition.

⁴ *Hemingway, The Writer as Artist* (Princeton, 1952), p. 109.

her not die. I'll do anything you say if you don't let her die." The death of Catherine, however, is the death of love. Henry does not become *Croyant*. "It's just nature giving her hell," he thinks, during her suffering. "Now Catherine would die. That's what you did. You died. You did not know what it was about. You never had time to learn" (pages 338, 341).

From the promise of love there remained only the image of humans as insects or of a senseless game for which no one knew the rules. Saying goodbye to his dead love was "like saying good-by to a statue." Against the conclusion of Peele's poem, "Goddess, allow this aged man his right / To be your beadsman that was your knight," stands the last scene of the novel: Frederick Henry disappearing in the rain without duty, faith or love. Considered in contrast with the sixteenth century courtier, the Hemingway hero is surely the loneliest in modern literature.

Oklahoma State University

CLINTON KEELER

William Blake and Eudora Welty's "Death of a Salesman"

Several studies have drawn attention to Miss Welty's use of symbols and myths in her short stories.¹ To these I wish to add an account of the symbol of Beulah as she employs it in "Death of a Travelling Salesman." In particular, I want to point out the striking parallels between her treatment of this image or concept and that of William Blake.² While my remarks here deal primarily with parallels in

¹ Harry C. Morris, "Zeus and the Golden Apples: Eudora Welty," *Perspective*, v (1952), 190-199, and "Eudora Welty's Use of Mythology," *Shenandoah*, vi (1955), ii, 34-40; W. M. Jones, "Welty's 'A Worn Path,'" *Explicator*, xv (June, 1957), 57; W. H. McBurney, "Welty's 'The Burning,'" *Explicator*, xvi (November, 1957), 9; L. Hartley, "Proserpina and the Old Ladies," *Modern Fiction Studies*, iii (1957), 350-354; W. M. Jones, "Eudora Welty's Use of Myth in 'Death of a Travelling Salesman,'" *Journal of American Folklore*, lxxiii (1960), 18-23.

² That Blake is a source for Miss Welty seems undeniable, but whether the relation is direct or indirect is more uncertain. If she did read any commentary on Blake, the most informative study available to her concerning the prophetic and symbolic books at that time was S. Foster Damon's *William Blake: His Philosophy and Symbols* (New York, 1924). More useful to the critic, however, for their detailed treatment of Beulah are M. O. Percival, *William Blake's Circle of Destiny* (New York, 1938) and Northrop Frye, *Fearful Symmetry* (Princeton, 1947). Both of these appeared after Miss Welty's story and so could not have influenced her understanding of Blake.

setting, character, and theme, nevertheless, they also show, I think, that no critical interpretation of the story can afford to ignore them as part of the symbolic pattern.

"Death of a Travelling Salesman," like so many of Miss Welty's stories, begins in a realistic, credible fashion—a shoe salesman loses his way on the back roads of the Mississippi hill country—and then through the manner of the telling there accrues to the narrative a sense of what can most simply be called "strangeness," which points toward a symbolic dimension in the tale. While certain details alert us at the outset to the fabulous quality of the story, only when the salesman's goal is said to be the reaching of Beulah does its potential symbolic scope appear unmistakably. For most commonly the name, derived from the Bible, recalls the land in *The Pilgrim's Progress* associated with peace and rest and encountered near the end of life's journey.³ That some symbolic use is being made of the name is indicated when R. J. Bowman, the salesman, is described as wishing to reach Beulah "by dark, to go to bed and sleep off his fatigue."⁴

Thus far, however, there is nothing to suggest anything more than a casual allusion to a symbolic name in one of the world's great allegories. And Bowman's failure to reach the town of Beulah might lead us to assume that Miss Welty is indifferent to the name's full significance, which is realized only in the poetic thought of William Blake. Yet when the role and character of Beulah in Blake's poetry is considered, we cannot help but be struck by the number of points at which it is echoed in "Death of a Travelling Salesman." In the first place, in Blake as in Bunyan, Beulah constitutes a middle ground between spiritual and temporal forms of existence.⁵ And just as certainly the central experience in Miss Welty's story—Bowman's meeting of the couple at the farmhouse—is a transition between his ordinary life as a shoe salesman with which the story opens and his death at its conclusion. Secondly, Blake's state of Beulah is called a triple

³ See John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress* (Oxford, 1952), pp. 183-186. Miss Welty's use of Biblical allusion for thematic underscoring is seen not only in the name "Beulah" but in her frequent references to the half-cleaned lamp held by Sonny's wife. For Isaiah lxii. 1 uses a burning lamp as an image of salvation, a fact that neatly points up Bowman's failure to achieve his own salvation. One might also note that with his revelation of love Bowman's thoughts take on something of the accents of the Song of Songs which according to Frye, p. 230, contains the fullest Biblical description of Beulah.

⁴ Eudora Welty, *A Curtain of Green and Other Stories* (New York, 1936), pp. 232-233. Subsequent references will be indicated in the text.

⁵ Damon, p. 423; Frye, p. 227; cf. Bunyan, pp. 184, 186.

world of lover, beloved, and mutual creation, of father, mother, and child.⁶ Similarly, Bowman, in the farmhouse, finds himself in a world populated by Sonny, his wife, and their unborn child. In this world of Blake's, love is the dominant power, one which relaxes all tensions and provides a pleasant rest for man.⁷ By the same token, Bowman is made to realize the depth of love shared by Sonny and his wife, to feel for a moment something of the same order himself, and to see that his life is empty and lonely without it.

Blake's dominant images of Beulah are the moon, the garden, and winter.⁸ The evidence for their deliberate use in "Death of a Salesman" admittedly is highly tenuous. And yet with an author of Miss Welty's delicate absorptive powers it is not unimportant to notice that her story takes place in winter, and that when Bowman leaves the house at the end, "the moon was in the sky" (p. 249). Though there is no garden *per se*, there is a "heavy heaped up vine that covered the roof, light and green as though forgotten from summer" (p. 234), and when his car falls into the ravine, it lands in "a tangle of immense grape vines" (p. 234).⁹ In addition, when a fire was made in the house, "the whole room turned golden-yellow like some sort of flower" (p. 245). And as Bowman joins Sonny outdoors for a sociable drink of corn whisky, "they came to a wilderness of thicket" (p. 246), an image that reminds us that the Eden of *Paradise Lost* is Milton's Beulah.¹⁰ Finally, on the level of image, Beulah is associated with the river of Adonis representing the water of life which,

⁶ William Blake, *Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, ed. G. Keynes, 3rd ed. (London, 1932), pp. 468, 497, 1068; Damon, p. 464; J. Wicksteed, *Blake's Innocence and Experience* (London, 1928), pp. 30, 269; Percival, p. 75; K. Preston, *Blake and Rossetti* (London, 1944), p. 15; Frye, p. 50.

⁷ Blake, pp. 497, 525; P. Berger, *William Blake*, tr. D. H. Conner (London, 1914), pp. 176, 365; Damon, p. 102; M. Plowman, *An Introduction to the Study of Blake* (New York, 1927), pp. 151, 166; Frye, pp. 72, 228; B. Blackstone, *English Blake* (Cambridge, 1949), p. 152.

⁸ Blake, pp. 281, 339, 524, 525, 527-528, 531, 688; Damon, pp. 86 n. 1, 142, 423; Plowman, p. 166; Percival, pp. 54, 166; Frye, pp. 50, 230, 282; J. Wicksteed, *William Blake's "Jerusalem"* (London, 1953), pp. 30, 139, 215.

⁹ Furthermore, these vines "caught it [the car] and held it, rocked it like a grotesque child in a dark cradle" (p. 234). Strikingly enough, in *Milton* Blake says Beulah appears to its inhabitants "as the beloved infant in his mother's bosom" (p. 525). In calling these "grape vines," perhaps Miss Welty was thinking of Plate 36 of *Jerusalem* and, like Wicksteed, *Blake's "Jerusalem,"* p. 170, identifying the human figure and the grape with "the 'Moment' of fruition that evades Time's clock." On the grape image, see also Bunyan, p. 186. Bowman has the opportunity for a salvation of this order, but never attains it.

¹⁰ Frye, p. 319; see *Paradise Lost*, iv, 136.

for Blake, symbolizes "the whole machinery of rivers, seas, clouds, and rain."¹¹ At the outset Bowman noticed a cloud and "thought shyly" (p. 233) that he had never seen one before; then he links it to "the bolster on his grandmother's bed" (p. 233), "the big feather bed" (p. 232) which beckons from his childhood memories as a place of comfort, rest, and security.¹² Later, too, he hears and is disturbed by the "soft, continuous, insinuating" (p. 242) sound of the stream that is shrouded from him by the darkness in which the returning Sonny appears "like a leaf on the river" (p. 243) floating smoothly. Nor should it be forgotten that the river of Adonis is red and that clay of a similar color is a Blakean symbol for creative power.¹³ For while Miss Welty's familiarity with the red clay country of her native region cannot be ignored, it is striking that just prior to Bowman's meeting Sonny's pregnant wife, he should find himself on the edge of a ravine described as "a red erosion" (p. 234).¹⁴ Perhaps the appearance of this image of life and creativity is a commentary on Bowman and a rationale for his fate at the end of the story.

In addition to the use of Beulah images in the story's setting, Miss Welty also echoes Blake in her treatment of the characters and their relationships to each other. Thus, where Blake stresses Beulah as a maternal figure, Miss Welty has Bowman, her central character, think first that the country woman at the farmhouse is Sonny's mother.¹⁵

¹¹ Frye, p. 229; see Blake, pp. 168, 535, 553, 560, 585, 649.

¹² In *The Book of Thel*, Thel is told to ask the cloud why it exists as it does and later the cloud "shew'd his golden head" (p. 170). And in *Milton* the Daughters of Beulah "saw the Lord coming in the Clouds" (p. 526). Bowman neither asks about nor sees the cloud's significance (see n. 29). Unlike Blake, he prefers memory to imagination. Perhaps his shortcomings are most clearly suggested in one of Blake's marginal comments on Swedenborg's *Wisdom of Angels Concerning Divine Love and Divine Wisdom*: "Think of a white cloud as being holy, you cannot love it; but think of a holy man within the cloud, love springs up in your thoughts" (p. 935).

¹³ Frye, p. 229.

¹⁴ Actually, it is possible the literal and symbolic levels fuse here, for Beulah itself is said to lie in the South (Blake, p. 526; Percival, p. 53). Miss Welty would only have had to adapt Blake's world geography to her American concerns to have located Beulah in Mississippi. A means to this adaptation might have been Blake's association of Beulah with Africa, Percival, pp. 75-76, which as the home of the Negro would have immediate parallels to the American South. See also Northrop Frye, "Notes for a Commentary on 'Milton,'" *The Divine Vision*, ed. V. De Sola Pinto (London, 1957), p. 128, who links the garden of Beulah with the black bride of the Song of Songs. But cf. Damon, p. 433, who associates Beulah with the East.

¹⁵ Blake, pp. 152-153, 525, 640; Frye, *Fearful Symmetry*, pp. 88, 229, 235. The silence of the woman is paralleled in *The Four Zoas* by the Daughters of Beulah having "clos'd the Gate of the Tongue" (p. 339). Similarly, her characteristic pose—"the placid crouching woman" (p. 241)—is reminiscent

Even more striking, however, is a further parallel. Blake's Orc finds Mother Nature growing younger and ceasing to be a mother and becoming a wife.¹⁶ Similarly, Bowman is first confirmed in his conviction that the woman is Sonny's mother and then suddenly made to realize that "she was not an old woman. She was young, still young. . . . She was the same age as Sonny, and she belonged to him" (p. 247).

In Blake this desire to see a mother in the external world is identified with several things. One of these is the imagination of the child.¹⁷ This is paralleled in the story by Bowman's childhood memories of his grandmother's bed and by his behavior after his car has fallen into the ravine. For then he approaches the house "with almost childlike willingness" (p. 234), and after requesting permission to enter waits passively for the woman in the manner that Blake saw as leading to the personification of nature as a mother.¹⁸ Another and equally important association is that which regards the desire to see a mother in nature as representing "the sick souls who accuse themselves of sin and feel that fear is an essential part of the imagination."¹⁹ Now, Bowman is presented as a man who is just recovering "after a long siege of influenza" (p. 231) and whose approach to and departure from the house are both marked by heart attacks the last of which is fatal. On entering the house, he found that it "touched him like a professional hand, the doctor's" (p. 237) and, like both the child and the sick person, "at first he felt hopefully secure" (p. 237). And though nothing explicitly points to Bowman's self-accusation of sin, nevertheless, of his mute, cramped waiting for Sonny's return it is remarked that "there was something like guilt in such stillness and silence" (p. 242).

Finally, he, too, like Blake's sick souls, seems to hold fear uppermost in his imagination. Both his illness and his losing his way anger him because they underscore his helplessness. This mood is momentarily dissipated by the entrance into the woman's house. But then his growing awareness of the cold, the lack of fire, and the stillness make him feel "that he was in some mysterious, quiet, cool danger" (pp.

of the Friends of Albion who in *Jerusalem* "concenter in one Female form, an aged pensive Woman" (p. 640). Damon, p. 454, identifies this form as maternal love, the Earth Mother, and generative instinct.

¹⁶ Blake, pp. 343-345; Frye, *Fearful Symmetry*, p. 227.

¹⁷ Blake, p. 525; Frye, *Fearful Symmetry*, p. 88.

¹⁸ Frye, *Fearful Symmetry*, p. 88.

¹⁹ Frye, *Fearful Symmetry*, p. 88; see Blake, p. 298; cf. Bunyan, p. 184.

237-238). This fear is reflected also in his premonitory suspicions about the way the woman answers him and—after the brief moment when love fleetingly supplants fear—in his startled reaction to Sonny's brusque directive while on their way to the still. Indeed, it is the final emotion of his life, for after suffering a second heart attack while running to his car, "he sank in fright on to the road" (p. 250).

From the parallels in setting and character noted above, we are driven to wonder whether similarities also exist in theme. For Blake, all states of existence are marked by a fight between Selfhood and self-development which is one aspect of the antithesis between life and death.²⁰ In Miss Welty's story, something of the same order is clearly present. Bowman is at the outset firmly mired in Blake's Selfhood: after having withdrawn himself from contact with the doctor and nurse, he travels alone; other people he views either contemptuously, as with the hill people in general, or hazily, as with the women of his salesman's career, or confusedly, as with Sonny's wife; and in a strange situation he is moved first by fear and then by self-pity. His contact with the family and the house, which occupies the bulk of the narrative, leads to a measure of self-development in that he recognizes his loneliness and the necessity of love. But from this he soon falls back, convinced that "he must get back to where he had been before" (p. 249). In so doing, he perhaps can be said to parallel Blake's contention that Beulah provides only a temporary escape from the world, that everything that enters Beulah must quickly emerge: up to the spiritual world of Paradise or back to the temporal world.²¹

Then, too, Blake sees Beulah as the kind of world in which man is attracted to some vague mystery that appears to surround him.²² This is echoed in Bowman's being "moved almost to tears" by the woman's quick identification of Sonny in the evening darkness, for "it was as if she had shown him something secret, part of her life, but had offered no explanation" (p. 243). Later in the story, when he recognizes the woman as Sonny's wife and discovers that "there

²⁰ Blake, p. 450; Frye, *Fearful Symmetry*, pp. 71, 125.

²¹ Frye, *Fearful Symmetry*, pp. 227, 233-234; Percival, pp. 52, 57-58, 68. In several respects Bowman resembles Blake's Albion who too was sick (p. 298), possessed of a soul-destroying error yet unwilling to "repose in Beulah's night till the Error is remov'd" and so "turn'd away refusing comfort" (p. 638), for he "rose up in the Night of Beulah on his Couch of dread repose / . . . groaning. . . / He strove to rise to walk into the Deep, but strength failing forbad, & down with dreadful groans he sunk upon his Couch / In moony Beulah" (pp. 543-544).

²² Frye, *Fearful Symmetry*, pp. 229-230.

was nothing remote or mysterious here—only private” (p. 248), he undergoes that loss of innocence which Blake identified with the fall in Beulah.²³ But not only does he dissipate the mystery surrounding the house and its occupants, he also suffers a loss of innocence about himself. After he understands that what was really in the house was “a marriage, a fruitful marriage” (p. 248), his feeble disclaimer—“Anyone could have had that” (p. 248)—as well as his later feeling that “he wished that the child were his” (p. 249) show that he recognizes the impossibility of this for himself.

Here again there is a connection with Blake. For while it is in Beulah that the sexual aspect of life can be fulfilled, the failure to attain the essence of this state will turn it into Ulro or Hell.²⁴ Thus, Bowman leaves Beulah, dropping back into the world of time and death. He does so because his unfulfilled sexuality is due to that imaginative passivity which Blake identifies with Beulah and contrasts with the active energy that leads man on from Beulah to Eden.²⁵ In contrast to Bowman, Sonny is a man whose great energy enables him, in Blakean fashion, to conquer what he sees.²⁶ Not only does he first appear “plunging in at the door” (p. 239) with “a powerful way of walking” (p. 240) so that his “step shook the house” (p. 243), but “there was effort even in the way he was looking, as if he could throw his sight out like a rope” (p. 240). In this last respect, he is, significantly enough, explicitly contrasted with Bowman whose “eyes could have seen nothing” (p. 240).

Nor does Sonny merely function like Blake's Orc, the Adonis figure that represents the power of life and fertility; he also resembles him in appearance. Sonny's “hot, red face” (p. 239) matches the ruddy complexion of Orc even as “his light hair” (p. 239) and name parallel Orc's nature as a sun-god.²⁷ In this last connection, it is important

²³ Frye, *Fearful Symmetry*, p. 279.

²⁴ Blake, pp. 375, 497, 585, 688, 710; Percival, p. 11; Mark Schorer, *William Blake: The Politics of Vision* (New York, 1946), p. 313; Frye, *Fearful Symmetry*, pp. 196, 272, 300.

²⁵ Percival, pp. 9, 12; Frye, *Fearful Symmetry*, pp. 49-50, 88, 232.

²⁶ Frye, *Fearful Symmetry*, p. 49.

²⁷ Blake, pp. 216, 344, 347, 363, 365; Percival, pp. 31, 121; Frye, *Fearful Symmetry*, pp. 207, 209. Sonny's Orc-like attributes also include his being the bringer of fire, for Blake's Orc is Prometheus too, Frye, *Fearful Symmetry*, p. 207. In *The Song of Los*, Orc is described as the possessor of “thought-creating fires” (p. 274); after Sonny returns with fire and offers him whisky, Bowman feels “as though he were drinking the fire off the hearth” (p. 247), and it is then that he is struck by the thought of the woman's youth and the nature of her relationship with Sonny.

to notice that the sun is, for Blake, one of those symbols which "has two forms, one the form of its eternal life, which appeals to the imagination, the other the form of its death, which appeals to the Selfhood."²⁸ That Sonny is the former is suggested not only by his name and appearance but by the fact that in Blake's eternity the true sun "is the golden head of Man."²⁹ And by the same token, the sun that appears at the beginning of the story and dominates Bowman's consciousness is the literal one which repeatedly "seemed to reach a long arm down and push against the top of his head, right through his hat" (p. 231). The imaginative energy necessary to conceive of the sun as a man is restricted in Bowman's case to this lone image. Thus, as in Blake so in Miss Welty's story we find timidity, imaginative paralysis, and a passive reliance on the outer world leading inevitably to death.

Purdue University

JOHN B. VICKERY

Jean Bodin and the Beginnings of Voltaire's Struggle for Religious Tolerance

In the letter "Sur les Presbitériens,"¹ Voltaire remarks: "S'il n'y avoit en Angleterre qu'une Religion, le despotisme seroit à craindre, s'il y en avoit deux, elles se couperoient la gorge; mais il y en a trente, & elles vivent en paix heureuses." Lanson comments on this celebrated passage:

Bayle, *Commentaire de cette parole de J.-C.: Contrains-les d'entrer* (*Œuvres div.*, t. II, p. 415), ch. VI: "Si la multiplicité des religions nuit à un état, c'est uniquement parce que l'une ne veut pas tolérer l'autre, mais l'engloutir par la voie des persécutions. *Hinc prima mali labe*, c'est là l'origine du mal. Si chacun avoit la tolérance que je soutiens, il y aurait la même concorde dans un état divisé en dix religions que dans une ville où les diverses espèces d'artisans s'entre supportent mutuellement. . . ." Montesquieu, *Lettres Persanes* 85, s'était aussi prononcé pour la tolérance de la pluralité des religions dans un Etat. . . . On lit dans le *Notebook* [of Voltaire], publié par M.

²⁸ Frye, *Fearful Symmetry*, p. 211.

²⁹ Frye, *Fearful Symmetry*, p. 285; see also Frye, *The Divine Vision*, p. 128; cf. Bunyan, p. 186.

¹ Voltaire, *Lettres philosophiques*, ed. Gustave Lanson, 2 vols. (Paris: Hachette, 1924), I, 74.

Caussy dans l'*English Review* de février 1914, p. 313: "England is meeting of all religions, as the royal exchange is the rendez-vous of all foreigners."²

Lanson also expresses the opinion that this last passage, from Voltaire's Notebook, might have been taken from some book or journal of the period.

Theodore Besterman, the most recent editor of Voltaire's *Notebooks*,³ observes that "This phrase is the germ of an important passage in the sixth of the *Lettres philosophiques* (Lanson ed., i. 74, cp. i. 77); for a first development cp. p. 43, below. *Indeed, it marks in a sense the beginning of that movement of thought in Voltaire which led to his intellectual revolt against intolerance*" (added italics). A comparison of Voltaire's elaboration upon his original idea, as quoted above, will show it is more similar to the passage in the *Lettres philosophiques*, if still not identical. This elaboration reads as follows:

Tale of a Tub

Where there is not liberty of conscience, there is seldom liberty of trade, the same tyranny encroaching upon the commerce as upon Religion. In the Commonwealths and other free countrys one may see in a sea port, as many religions as ships[.] The same god is there differently worshipped by jews, mahometans, heathens, catholiques, quackers, anabaptistes, which write strenuously one against another, but deal together freely and with trust and peace; like good players who after having humour'd their parts and fought one against another upon the stage, spend the rest of their time in drinking together.⁴

The idea of tolerance of many faiths for the good of the state as well as its own sake is basic to many defenders of tolerance. Voltaire might well have come upon the idea himself or, perhaps, through the influence of the passages quoted above. However, a comparison will show that the authors indicated by Lanson (Bayle and Montesquieu) as well as Voltaire's own notes, although the 'germ' of the idea is there, cannot be considered the direct source.

It may be the direct source will not be found, that Voltaire, through gradual revision, arrived at the form we find in the sixth *Lettre* without further inspiration.

There is another possibility.

² Ibid., pp. 76-77, n. 13.

³ Institut et Musée Voltaire, *Les Délices*, 2 vols. (Geneva, 1952; Publications de l'Institut et Musée Voltaire sous la direction de Theodore Besterman, Série Voltaire I). The "Small Leningrad Notebook," of 1726 to approximately 1728, was also edited by Prof. N. L. Torrey in *MP*, xxvi, 308-325.

⁴ Besterman, I, 43. I owe thanks to Dr. Besterman for indicating this reference to me.

In his *Colloquium Heptaplomeres* or *Colloque de Jean Bodin des secretz cachez des choses sublimes entre sept sçauans qui sont de differens sentimens*, written towards the end of the sixteenth century, the jurist, Jean Bodin, has one of the seven scholars, the Calvinist Antoine Curce, express the following view:

Il n'y a rien de plus dangereux que de voir dans une Republique le peuple partagé en deux factions seulement soit qu'il soit question des loix ou des preances ou pour le fait de la religion, mais s'il y a plusieurs factions il n'y a point de guerre civile a craindre, parce que les unes sont comme des voix qui semblent interceder enuers les autres pour mettre la paix et l'harmonie parmy les citoyens.⁵

A glance will reveal the similarity between this passage and Voltaire's comment in the sixth *Lettre* as well as with his elaboration of the original Notebook passage. The three passages share the core of the basic ideas, their sequence as well as their elaboration. Moreover the 'dramatic' situation of Bodin's work is almost exactly as Voltaire describes: the representatives of seven major faiths, a Calvinist, a Lutheran, a Mohametan, a Jew, a representative of Natural Religion, and an anti-dogmatic advocate of a polyreligious view meet regularly at the home of a Catholic in Venice where they freely and in a most friendly fashion discuss the relative merits of their respective beliefs.

Did Voltaire know the *Colloque*? He certainly knew Bodin's work generally since he refers to the *Six livres de la République* twice, if later (1764), in the *Dictionnaire philosophique*,⁶ and had a copy of *Le Traicté de la démonomanie contre les sorciers* in his library.⁷ There is a possibility he knew the *Colloque* because of his interest in Bodin's work and because he was not known to ignore many clandestine writings.

Although the *Colloque* did not appear in print until the nineteenth

⁵ We use the French text of Roger Chauviré (Paris: Champion, 1914), p. 36.

⁶ *Œuvres complètes*, Moland ed., 52 vols. (Paris: Garnier, 1877—), XVIII, 199 and 227. In reference to *Climat*, Voltaire writes, XVIII, 199: "Cent cinquante ans avant eux [Chardin, l'abbé Dubos, etc.], Bodin en avait fait la base de son système, dans sa *République* et dans sa *Méthode de l'histoire*; il dit que l'influence du climat est le principe du gouvernement des peuples et de leur religion," and, XVIII, 227, concerning *Confession*: "Bodin s'exprime ainsi dans son *Livre de la république*: Aussi ne faut-il pas dissimuler si le coupable est découvert avoir conjuré contre la vie du souverain, ou même l'avoir voulu. . . ."

⁷ An Inventory of Voltaire's library at Leningrad by G. R. Havens and N. L. Torrey, *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, gen. ed. Th. Besterman (Geneva, 1959), IX, 112, # 333.

century,⁸ many such manuscripts circulated throughout the Continent. A German editor of the work, G. E. Guhrauer, refers to thirty manuscript copies in public and fifty in private libraries in the German speaking area alone so that, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, there was no eminent scholar without his personal copy.⁹ Roger Chauviré lists fifteen manuscript copies, from the sixteenth through to the eighteenth centuries, now to be found in French libraries, adding "Et bien d'autres ont disparus ou restent ignorés";¹⁰ for example, the copies accredited to the conseiller Hantin, the conseiller Hardy, Briot, Conring, Thomasen, and Leibnitz. Given the manuscript's notoriety—confirmed, for example, by Jean Chapelain's comment in a letter to the German scholar H. Conring that "Ceux qui ont ce livre en font grand mystère, et il faut estre de leurs amis pour le leur prester"¹¹—it is not likely Voltaire would be ignorant of its existence. This likelihood is increased by the findings of Ira O. Wade who has discovered "one hundred and two different [manuscript] treatises which deal in an unorthodox fashion with religion, natural theology, problems of morality and politics, and which were circulated during the first half of the eighteenth century."¹² And though Professor Wade does not list Bodin's *Colloque*, he asserts that "many others were in existence, some of them during the first half of the century. They are not discoverable, however, in the public libraries and our only record of them is reference to them in other works."¹³

The similarity and sequence of thought expressed in the passages of Bodin and Voltaire is striking. It would be of interest to learn that there is a more direct link between these two ardent advocates of religious tolerance than mere coincidence of ideas.

The Johns Hopkins University

HENRY HORNİK

⁸ In a partial edition and translation by G. E. Guhrauer, Berlin 1841, and a fairly complete latin edition by L. Noack, Schwerin 1857. A check of the various inventories of manuscripts in Voltaire's possession (among them F. Caussy as well as the London, Paris and Leningrad libraries) does not indicate he ever had a personal copy.

⁹ Op. cit., p. lxxvii.

¹⁰ Op. cit., p. 7.

¹¹ Roger Chauviré, *Jean Bodin; auteur de la "République"* (Paris: Champion, 1914), pp. 536-7.

¹² Ira Owen Wade, *The Clandestine Organization and Diffusion of Philosophic Ideas in France From 1700 to 1750* (Princeton: Pr. U. Press, 1938), p. 10.

¹³ Ibid., p. 22. Among others known to have had possession of a manuscript copy of the *Colloquium* were Naudé, Ménage, Bayle, H. Grotius, du Harley, Queen Christina of Sweden, Jean Descordes, prés. de Mesmes, J.-B. Hantin as well as the poet Milton. Cf. R. Chauviré, *Colloque*, pp. 4-8, and *Jean Bodin*, pp. 506 and 536-7.

Structure and Symbol in a Poem of Juan Ramón Jiménez

The poem here discussed is one of the most familiar of the *Arias tristes*. Since its first publication in 1903, it has been included in all three of the poet's own *Antologías* and in a number of other anthologies as well.

Viene una música lánguida,
no sé de dónde, en el aire.
Da la una. Me he asomado
para ver qué tiene el parque.

La luna, la dulce luna,
tiñe de blanco los árboles,
y, entre las ramas, la fuente
alza su hilo de diamante.

En silencio, las estrellas
tiemblan; lejos, el paisaje
mueve luces melancólicas,
ladridos y largos ayes.

Otro reló da la una.
Desvela mirar el parque
lleno de almas, a la música
triste que viene en el aire.¹

In a number of ways this little poem is highly typical of the *Arias tristes* and of the poet's whole early period, usually thought of as ending with the publication of his *Diario de un poeta recién casado* (1916).² This early period is marked by a persistent musicality and

¹ I cite the version given in the *Tercera antología poética* (Madrid, 1957), p. 51, which is also that of the *Segunda antología poética* (Madrid, 1922). I have unfortunately been unable to examine the original edition of the *Arias tristes*, but it seems likely that the primitive version of the poem is that given in the Hispanic Society's edition of *Poetas escogidos* (New York, 1917), p. 26. This older version differs slightly from the one quoted in lines 4, 11, and 13, but I believe all the changes are improvements, and none of them would alter our interpretation of the poem.

² The two principal periods in the poetic trajectory of Juan Ramón Jiménez to which we refer here and elsewhere can, of course, be divided further, but most critics would probably grant some validity to this broad two-fold division. Gonzalo Sobejano infers such a consensus from the summary of trajectory studies included in his "Juan Ramón Jiménez a través de la crítica," *Romanistisches Jahrbuch*, VIII (1957), 341-366, and I believe it can be confirmed in such standard works as those of Emmy Nedermann (see note 10), Enrique Díez-Canedo, *Juan Ramón Jiménez en su obra* (México, 1944), and Graciela Palau de Nemes, *Vida y obra de Juan Ramón Jiménez* (Madrid,

predominance of sentiment over the intellect, and certainly both qualities are present in these lines to an unusual degree. The lilting dactyls and alliterative *l*'s, the musical *chiaroscuro* effected by the contrast between the dark *u*'s of line five and the sudden brightness of *tiñe* in line six, and, of course, the thematic presence of music make of this poem an almost perfect expression of the famous Verlainean formula. And the emotional atmosphere is created, in typical symbolist fashion, through the "fusion of an external scene (moonlit night, silvery trees, crystal-clear water, tremulous stars) with an 'inner landscape' (solitude, sadness, sweet languor)," as a commentary by Diego Marín has pointed out.³

For all of its music and languid melancholy, though, I believe the poem contains a conceptual element which is much more important than the more immediately perceptible phenomena of music, light, and emotional atmosphere. It is, I grant, only vaguely expressed, and the concepts themselves are not, perhaps, such as can be given any fully logical utterance in a prose paraphrase. But they do have a relative clarity and can be shown, I believe, to be related to a number of themes in the poet's later works. In seeking them out in the poem before us and in tracing their subsequent development, I believe we can also learn something of the poet's technique of suggestion through natural iconic symbols.

Now, the key to the conceptual aspect of the poem is in its structure, which is fundamentally one of balance and symmetry. Purely in terms of the sequence of events and images, it can immediately be seen that the last four lines repeat the first four lines, essentially in reverse order. The variation which occurs in the reversal fortunately keeps the symmetry from being geometrically perfect, but it does not

1957). More recent studies by Guillermo Díaz-Plaja, *Juan Ramón Jiménez en su poesía* (Madrid, 1958) and Bernardo Gicovate, *La poesía de Juan Ramón Jiménez* (San Juan, 1959) distinguish many more periods, but all of them could, I believe, be assigned to one or the other of our primary categories.

³In the notes to his anthology, *Poesía española* (México, 1958), p. 448, which are, in fact, the only commentary on this poem I have been able to find. Cf. Émile Faguet, "Sur le Symbolisme," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Sixième Période—LXXXIII^e Année, Treizième Volume (1913), 398: "Le symbolisme, en effet, consiste à exprimer sa pensée ou son sentiment *par des allégories qui ne sont pas artificielles*, ou qui le sont le moins possible. Par exemple, un aspect de la nature, mis en parallèle avec un état d'esprit; mieux encore, une description dont on ne peut pas savoir si elle veut rendre un état de la nature ou un paysage d'âme, tant il y a de concordances entre ces deux objets: ce sont des symboles; à la condition encore qu'ils ne soient pas concertés, et qu'il soit évident ou probable que l'auteur a pensé son sentiment ou senti sa pensée ainsi et non point *traduit* ainsi sa pensée ou son sentiment."

alter in the least the impression of symmetry which the lines convey. In the central stanzas there is also a certain sequential symmetry, but much more important is the fact that these lines depict the moon and stars overhead, the dimly lighted background, and the silvery branches of the trees as framing, and in a sense enclosing, the image which is at the very center of the whole composition, the diamond thread of the fountain.

As for the prosodic aspect of the poem, we will observe that the four *versos esdrújulos*, lines one, six, eleven, and fifteen, form an almost perfect pattern; that the previously mentioned alliteration of *P*'s occurs in lines equidistant from the center; and that the dactylic rhythm is most pronounced in the first two and the last two lines of the poem, in both cases associated with an explicit reference to music. Finally, we have in line eight what is probably the most artful use of symmetry in the entire poem. The vowels in this line form the sequence *aauiœiaae*, from which we can abstract the series *aaiaa* as the really significant portion of it: the *u* and the second *i*, are actually semiconsonants, and the noun markers *o* and *e* and the vowel of the preposition are so muted in their expressiveness that their very presence in the line is rather shadowy. We are left, then, with a symmetrical sequence of vowels in the line which is aesthetically, if not quite mathematically, at the center of our poem, and the stressed vowel in the middle of this sequence is that of *kilo*, the diamond thread at the center of the composition.

The symmetrical principle has been thoroughly integrated, then, into every aspect of the poem's form, and the effect of this concentration is to suggest an intense concentration upon the central image. In spite of the pervading tone of languid melancholy, the intensity of this concentration is expressed by the very number of concentric elements and by the exiguous thinness of the fountain's thread of water, which suggests that the image itself has been compressed by the centripetal forces surrounding it. Thus it is clear that the diamond thread is much more than one of so many items in a *Stimmungsbild* of sweet melancholy; it is an object of intense contemplation, an unusually profound expressive symbol. Like all expressive symbols, it shows the traits of "plurisignation" and "soft focus"⁴ charac-

⁴I borrow this terminology from Philip Wheelwright, *The Burning Fountain: A Study in the Language of Symbolism* (Bloomington, 1954), especially pp. 60-75. Perhaps it is well to point out that I use the term "symbol" in the broadest sense, that is, referring to any meaningful image, whether that meaning be logical and univocal or paradoxical and ambiguous. Thus I

teristic of them, but I believe we can give some precision to our understanding of it and of what Dámaso Alonso would call the *forma interior* of the poem itself by tracing briefly the development of fountain images and diamond images in a number of the poet's later works.

For the fountain images the indispensable starting point is the chapter on "La fuente vieja" in *Platero y yo*, where the "plurisignation" which Jiménez himself attributes to the symbol could scarcely be greater, whether in breadth or in depth. He tells us here that for him the fountain "encierra en sí, como una clave o una tumba, toda la elegía del mundo, es decir, el sentimiento de la vida verdadera." Developing this concept to the furthest possible limit, he then says that:

De tal manera está en su sitio, tal armoniosa sencillez la eterniza, el color y la luz son suyos tan por entero, que casi se podría coger de ella en la mano, como su agua, el caudal completo de la vida. La pintó Böcklin sobre Grecia; Fray Luis la tradujo; Beethoven la inundó de alegre llanto; Miguel Angel se la dió a Rodin.

Es la cuna y es la boda; es la canción y es el soneto; es la realidad y es la alegría; es la muerte.⁵

Now, in spite of the multiplicity of meanings here attributed to the symbol, it is evident that one important reference in it is to art itself, especially to music and poetry, and the same symbolic relationship will be found at a number of points in the poetry in verse. One of the earliest examples of an association of the fountain with music is the very poem studied here, even though the relationship is one of simple concomitance and so loose that one would scarcely think of it as at all symbolic. Later the nexus will become much tighter, as in a poem from *Belleza* (1917-1923) entitled "La música," which begins, "De pronto, surtidor / de un pecho que se parte, / el chorro apasionado rompe / la sombra—como una mujer / que abriera los balcones sollozando" (*Tercera antología*, p. 723).⁶ But in the early poems the relationship is that of a mere juxtaposition, as, for example, in the poem to Santiago Rusiñol, "por cierta rosa," in which the music is

specifically do not observe the distinction made by Martin Foss, *Symbol and Metaphor* (Princeton, 1949), especially in Chapter I. According to this distinction, symbol is used in connection with scientific knowledge, and anything expressing a depth meaning is called metaphor.

⁵ Cuarta edición (Madrid, 1917), pp. 238-239.

⁶ Hereafter all quotations from the works of Juan Ramón Jiménez are cited in the *Tercera antología*, unless otherwise indicated, and will be cited by page alone.

actually the song of birds: "¡Decoración de ensueño, ya mirada de estrellas, / donde el surtidor, pálido, al cielo se levanta, / mientras el ruiseñor, loco de penas bellas, / quieto frente a la rosa que tú has pintado, canta!" (p. 414).

When the fountain is associated with poetry, we will find that the relationship is much more clearly expressive. In *Platero* the poet said that the old fountain is the sonnet, and in the brief poem inspired by Dante's *Io mi senti' svegliar* he writes that this sonnet was "una fuente / que dos chorros arqueaba en una taza / primera, la cual, luego, los vertía, / finos, en otros dos" (p. 534). Later it becomes clear that the fountain symbolizes not merely the finished work but, more precisely, the creative act, the impetus toward expression in the exact poetic word: "Palabra justa y viva, / que la vida interior brota, lo mismo / que una rosa vaciada en un lucero; / cúmulo, cima del sereno monte / del corazón, contra el cenit exacto; / final estrella del surtidor recto / de la fuente más honda / —¡la del alma!" (p. 659).

But it will also symbolize a longing which transcends even that of poetic expression: "¡Ay, cuándo, como en una una / fusión alta de estrella y azucena, / ascenderá mi chorro hasta encontrar / —columna inalterable, río en pie— / el chorro derramado de lo eterno!" (p. 645). In these lines and in the preceding poem, it is clear that the fountain is used as a natural or iconic symbol of transcendent longing, and it must be granted that the eternal upward flow of a fountain's jet suggests spiritual ascent as effectively and as naturally as, say, the vertical thrust of a gothic arch.⁷ But in the last line of the second passage the symbol acquires yet another meaning; the "chorro derramado de lo eterno" is eternity's response to human longing, an outpouring of the infinite which complements this longing and may some day fulfill it. In this, of course, we have a clear anticipation of the mystical poetry of *Animal de fondo* (1949), the chief work of Juan Ramón's last years. Here the infinite is at last given the name of god, and the image of the fountain is used to describe him as a "dios deseante y deseado, / que surtes, desvelado / vigilante del ocio suficiente, / de la sombra y la luz, en pleamar fundida, / fundido en pleamar" (p. 983). The rays of his light are said in the same poem to be "fuentes de luminoso y blanco oro surtidor / que refrescan la

⁷ With respect to this natural symbolism in the fountain, cf. the following verses from "Le Cœur de l'Eau," by Georges Rodenbach, a favorite poet of the young Jiménez: "Jets d'eau toujours en peine, impatients du ciel! / Las! l'azur défile leur sveltesse de lance, / Symbole édifant d'une âme qui s'élance / Et pulvérise au vent son sanglot éternel." *Œuvres* (Paris, 1923), I, 208.

vida al todo blanco sol." From a symbol of transcendent longing, of a *dios* who is merely *deseado*, the fountain comes to symbolize the *dios deseante* as well.

The distance between *Animal de fondo* and the *Arias tristes* is, however, immense, and I should like now to return to an earlier point on the trajectory of the fountain image to consider some lines which can also serve as a starting point for our discussion of diamond images in the works of Juan Ramón. In the poems from *Arte menor* (1909) published in the *Segunda antología poética*, we find: "¡Que todos estén muy lejos; / ¡Que yo mismo no me acuerde / de mí! . . . Sólo el ideal, / con su avenida y su fuente. / —La fuente no saltará: / será un éstasis perene, / cual de un diamante atraído / por el sinfín del poniente."⁸ Here we have the familiar note of transcendent longing, a strong thrust toward the infinite, but another important aspect of the image is its static quality, which suggests that it is being seen *sub specie aeternitatis*. The fountain of the ideal is an "éstasis perene," and it will not leap, that is, it will not be *seen* in motion because we here behold it in an eternal contemplative moment, in which it is both as luminous and as permanent as a diamond.⁹ Obviously, then, the diamond is a natural or iconic symbol of this "éstasis perene," its luminosity suggesting vision, understanding, and intellection, and its hardness symbolizing an eternal quietude, a perpetual *stasis*. From the studies of Emmy Nedermann¹⁰ and Raimundo Lida¹¹ we know that this static quality is a fundamental trait of the poet's style, and its presence in the image of the diamond thread will be discussed more fully somewhat later. But one can already see that the natural symbolism of the diamond suggests this quality simply because the fountain is an "hilo de diamante."

⁸ Madrid, 1956, p. 104.

⁹ In "El agua en la poesía de Juan Ramón Jiménez," *RHM*, v (1939), 227, Antonio Tudisco suggested that the fountain in this poem does not leap because it is one of those "fuentes quietas de las cuales fluye el agua tranquila y mansamente," but I believe the presence of the diamond justifies our interpretation of the image as not merely tranquil but essentially static.

¹⁰ *Die symbolistischen Stilelemente im Werke von Juan Ramón Jiménez* (Hamburg, 1935), p. 4 et passim, and "Juan Ramón Jiménez, sus vivencias y sus tendencias simbolistas," *Nosotros*, Segunda Epoca, I (1936), 20 et passim. In the former work (p. 65) Miss Nedermann cites this image in our poem as an example of the poet's preference for a substantival epithet, *de diamante*, over a possible adjectival one, *diamantino*, such a tendency being itself a stylistic manifestation of a static world view. This, of course, would confirm the interpretation of the image based on the natural symbolism of the diamond.

¹¹ "Sobre el estilo de Juan Ramón Jiménez," in his *Letras hispánicas* (México, 1958), p. 169 et passim.

The diamond is actually not a very frequent image in the poetry of Jiménez, and certainly it is far less frequent than the ever-present gold. In the early works it is used to describe what seem to be purely external qualities in water and in stars, as in one of the early *Rimas* (1900-1902): "Sobre la oscura arboleda, / en el trasparente cielo / de la tarde, tiembla y brilla / un diamantino lucero" (p. 30). And in another of the *Arias tristes*: "Llora la yerba del suelo, / llora el diamante del agua, / llora el ensueño del sol / y los ocasos del alma" (p. 56). Later one senses a heightened intensity of expressiveness in lines like the following, which identify the diamond with cosmic entities: "El mundo, que hubiera sido, / anoche, un gran carbón, mago, / se trueca en un gran diamante, / luna y sol en solo un astro" (p. 207). And later: "Un poco soñoliento / aún, vi el sol. Como una lira / de diamante y de grana, / en el fondo sin fin de la mañana, / preludiaba: '¡Verdad!'" (p. 326).

Still later the image acquires a meaning which is essentially spiritual, if no less cosmic in its profundity. In *La estación total* (1946) the poet asks, "Tesoro de mi conciencia, / ¿dónde estás, cómo encontrarte? / . . . Cada mañana, el anuncio / (defraudado) del '¡quién sabe!' / Cada noche, el '¡si será / mi sueño el hondo diamante!'" (p. 815). Like the pearl of great price in the gospel parable, the diamond is here a spiritual treasure anxiously sought. Finally, in *Animal de fondo*, the treasure is found within the poet's own mind: "Tu voz de fuego blanco / en la totalidad del agua, el barco, el cielo, / lineando las rutas con delicia, / grabándome con fúlgido mi órbita segura / de cuerpo negro / con el diamante lúcido en su dentro" (p. 975). The essence of this treasure is an effulgent consciousness of god, of which the eternal luminosity of the diamond is the symbol: "Un ser de luz, que es todo y sólo luz, / luz vividora y luz vivificante; / una conciencia diamantina en dios, / un dios en ascua blanca, / que sustenta, que incita y que decide / en la mañana oscura" (p. 986). But the poet's consciousness of god is identical with god's consciousness of him, and to this "dios conseguido" he can now say, "Dentro de tu conciencia jeneral estoy / y soy tu secreto, tu diamante, / tu tesoro mayor, tu ente entrañable" (p. 1027). In this union of minds we have, clearly, the essence of mystical contemplation, "where not only symbol and referend, but also knower and known, merge into one self-intentive whole."¹²

¹² Wheelwright, p. 61. It must be understood that I speak here of mystical contemplation purely as an ontological element in the poetry itself, without

Thus we have discovered that the trajectories of both images, the fountain and the diamond, are exactly parallel. The first of these is a kinetic image, which comes to symbolize a longing for the infinite and eventually the outpouring of a *dios deseante*. The diamond, on the other hand, is a static image symbolic of the ecstatic moment of luminous intellection, and yet it too is ultimately identified with god, with god as knower.

What, now, of the fountain of the diamond thread? By itself it might seem, like so many other diamond images in the early poems, rather superficially descriptive, and although it is formally a metaphor, the apparent weakness of its "energy-tension"¹³ would make it semantically a mere simile, at most a vague *Stimmungssymbol*,¹⁴ but we have already seen that in the context of the poem's structure it must be regarded as a symbol of quite a different order. It is clear that within the microcosm of the poem the diamond thread is at the center of all things, and therefore it is somehow the ultimate heart of the matter. But I believe the most important kind of centrality suggested here is a temporal one. By this I mean not merely a sequential or chronological centrality (although we have seen that this too is present and is the most obvious element in the symbolism), but rather a concept expressed in the symmetrically placed chimes striking the hour of one. Their chronometric individualism gives, perhaps, a faintly realistic touch to the scene, but at the same time they suggest the opening up and the expansion of a single moment of time to reveal eternity at its core.

The theme of the opened and expanded moment will, in fact, appear more than once in later works. From the period 1911-1913, for example, comes a poem called "Hora inmensa," within which "parece que lo eterno se coje con la mano" (p. 369). And in *La estación total*

thereby subscribing to any particular interpretation of the poet's spiritual condition. I believe, therefore, that we could accept and apply to the poetry of Jiménez a definition of mystical poetry recently given by Lowry Nelson, Jr., in "The Rhetoric of Ineffability: Toward a Definition of Mystical Poetry," *CL*, viii (1956), 336. According to this definition, we may say that "mystical poetry is supernatural, not necessarily pantheistic, animistic, or, in the strict sense, religious; and furthermore, that it concerns union in some way with the single and transcendent supernatural."

¹³ Martin Foss, p. 60, uses this term to designate the essential quality of the relationship between images combined in the metaphor. A discussion of the differences between formal and semantic aspects of the simile and the metaphor is found in Wheelwright, pp. 94-100.

¹⁴ The term is used by Emmy Nedermann, *Die symbolistischen Stilelemente*, p. 137, in speaking of the essentially affective character of symbols in the poet's early period.

the poet says of the "mirlo fiel" that it "ensancha con su canto / la hora parada de la estación viva, / y nos hace la vida suficiente." And he exclaims, "¡Eternidad, hora ensanchada, / paraíso de lustror único, abierto / a nosotros mayores, pensativos, / por un ser diminuto que se ensancha!" (p. 822).

We see, then, that the expanded moment is also a static moment, an "hora parada," and at another point in *La estación total* the same concept is expressed with a symbol reminiscent of our diamond thread: "¡Florece y vivir, instante / de central chispa detenida, / abierta en una forma tendadora; / instante sin pasado, / en que los cuatro puntos cardinales / son de igual atracción dulce y profunda; / instante del amor abierto / como la flor!" (p. 781). Certainly a diamond is a "chispa detenida," and the matter of centrality scarcely needs a comment. If it is objected that a thread of diamond bears little resemblance to a spark, I willingly grant it, but it can be pointed out that the difference between the two images is simply that of a development from a concept of bilateral symmetry in the park scene to one of radial symmetry in the above ("los cuatro puntos cardinales," etc.). Both structural concepts imply concentration upon the center, but the second of these obviously does so with much greater intensity, and if the thinness of the thread suggested that concentration had effected a compression of its object, the smallness of the spark indicates a degree of concentration which is so much the greater,¹⁵ such being precisely the development one would expect in the poet's vision of things. In any case, the exiguousness of both images clearly serves to enhance one's feeling that their centrality is absolute, as though, like Euclidean abstractions, they had no extension whatever beyond the exact centers which they occupy.

Both in the natural symbolism of the diamond and in the suggestion of an expanded moment, then, the central image of our poem has a strong quality of *stasis*. But if the fountain itself is a symbol of spiritual *kinesis*, as we have seen it to be elsewhere, we can only

¹⁵ There does, indeed, seem to be a tendency for transcendent symbols to represent the infinite by the infinitesimal, as though profundity of meaning varied inversely with physical size. Possible analogies to this symbolic exiguousness in Juan Ramón might be seen in the "punto acuto" of Dante's symbolic vision of God in *Paradiso* XXVIII, which is to the smallest star as the smallest star is to the moon, and in the "Self" of Hindu mysticism, described in the *Chandogya Upanishad* as "smaller than a grain of rice, or a barley-corn, or a mustard-seed, or a grain of millet, or the kernal of a grain of millet." Quoted from *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads*, translated by Robert Ernest Hume (London, 1921), p. 210.

conclude that both phenomena are present in this image. And certainly the *kinesis* is there. Recalling that symmetrical series of vowels in line eight of the poem, we will realize at once that in the contrast between the low *a*'s and the high *i* we have experienced kinesthetically the ascent expressed lexically by the verb *alza*. At the same time, a great contrast in luminosity was suggested by the bright *i* which rises between the relatively dark *a*'s. As a result, this little series of vowels itself suggests and unites the *kinesis* of the fountain and the luminous *stasis* of the diamond.

A paradox, certainly, but the concept is one for which we can again find explicit parallels in the poet's later works. In his *Ideología lírica* he writes, "Hay dos dinamismos: el del que monta una fuerza libre y se va con ella en suelto galope ciego; el del que coje esa fuerza, se hace con ella, la envuelve, la circunda, la fija, la redondea, la domina. El mío es el segundo."¹⁸ And obviously it is the second of these two dynamisms which is present in our poem. Again, in *Animal de fondo*, we find in the poem "Río-mar-desierto" the image of a sea which is also a river and a desert, having both waves and dunes, that is, waves which *are* dunes and dunes which *are* waves. Thus Jiménez can speak here of "movimiento en solidez," and he will say that this "imagen / de mi devenir fiel a la belleza / se va igualando más hacia mi fin, / fundiendo el dinamismo con el éstasis" (p. 1001). Now, in this fusion of dynamism with extasy, of *kinesis* and *stasis*, we have what evidently represents an indispensable qualification to anything we might say about the poet's static *Weltgefühl*. Like Wordsworth's "stationary blasts of waterfalls" (*Prelude*, VI, 626), the images which present this paradox are doubtless "types and symbols of Eternity" (v. 639), but probably they are so only *because* of this fusion of opposites within them. *Stasis* alone would merely suggest stopped time, an endless entropy. But in eternity, surely, is subsumed all the vitality of every moment which has ever been a living here-and-now, and in contrast to time it reveals an otherness which can be expressed only in paradox.

All of which, I believe, was anticipated in the simple little nocturn written nearly half a century before the poems of *Animal de fondo*. And now, perhaps, though in full realization of the inadequacies of a prose paraphrase, we may attempt to summarize the conceptual element which we have seen as implicit in the poem. The summary will,

¹⁸ Quoted from Juan Ramón Jiménez, *Páginas escogidas: prosa*, Selección de Ricardo Gullón (Madrid, 1948), p. 143.

of course, be too systematically metaphysical and perhaps even slightly didactic, and it will sin by putting in sharp focus that which is meant to be seen by a much softer light. But it has been our stated purpose to show how this conceptual element is related to a number of themes in Juan Ramón's later works, and what we have done to fulfill this purpose can be given unity only by an explicit summary of this sort. Which is, then, that there is a goal of luminous beauty which is absolutely central to everything in life, toward which all spiritual energy is concentrated, and in which the spirit finds ecstatic rest. It is approached within the flow of time, but once contemplated, it causes the moment of contemplation, however brief, to open wide to eternity and to become eternal itself. For the poet himself, we know, the channel of this spiritual energy is his poetry, and perhaps it is not too much to suggest that the literal physical tension which is the inevitable result of a fusion of *kinesis* and *stasis* in the diamond thread of the fountain is itself a kind of archetypal icon of the metaphoric "tension" which is of the essence of all poetry. We have already seen that one important aspect of the use of fountain images in Juan Ramón is their frequent association with the lyrical, with music and with poetry itself, and it would not be surprising to find here the suggestion that it is essentially through and within poetic creation that the spirit's energy is concentrated upon its goal.

Certainly this concentration upon an ideal of beauty is the fundamental constant in the whole of Juan Ramón's work, and we might even see this concentric poem as a kind of schema of his future trajectory, of which it was long ago observed by Gerardo Diego that it "no era hacia adelante ni hacia arriba, sino hacia adentro."¹⁷ It is, then, a progress into the heart of things, especially into the poet's own mind, and it is expressed in poetry which ever more and more is being reduced to the essentials, to pure poetry. As a poetic trajectory this progress is, we know, indistinguishable from the poet's spiritual trajectory, at the end of which the ideal beauty which is absolutely central to all things will be seen as god. In the notes to *Animal de fondo* Jiménez writes that "todo mi avance poético en la poesía era avance hacia dios, porque estaba creando un mundo del cual había de ser el fin un dios" (p. 1018), and the locus of this god of the conscious intellect will be fully realized as being within: "Esta con-

¹⁷ In 1923, in a discussion of the recently published *Segunda antología poética*. Quoted by Gonzalo Sobejano, p. 350.

ciencia que me rodeó / en toda mi vivida, / como halo, aura, atmósfera de mi ser mío, / se me ha metido ahora dentro" (p. 973).

The difference between the vagueness and subtlety with which the conceptual element is expressed in our poem and the sonorous affirmations of *Animal de fondo* is, certainly, immense, but I believe the lines of filiation are clear. Indeed, it is only by tracing their full trajectories that we can have any real understanding of the symbols which have concerned us here. Yet, having done this, one is left with the conviction that the meaning thus discovered was fully present in them all the while.

The Johns Hopkins University

PAUL R. OLSON

REVIEWS

John Peter, *A Critique of Paradise Lost* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press; London: Longmans, 1960. ix + 172 pp. \$3.50). ADDRESSING a possibly non-existent audience composed of "calm and dispassionate witnesses," Mr. Peter offers an analysis of *Paradise Lost* based upon what he calls "the impact of the poem as we read it." The virtue of his book lies chiefly in the lucidity of its "attack," for the author probably would not claim that he has noticed what never was noticed before. Most of his targets are familiar: the War in Heaven, Milton's God; so are most of the objects of his approval. Mr. Peter disclaims destructive intent and writes eloquently of what he likes—the account of the Garden and unfallen man, and of the Fall itself which, he asserts (perhaps revealing something about his own critical stance), "displays the qualities which would normally be expected from a great novelist or dramatist rather than a poet."

Mr. Peter writes conventionally about Milton's "imperfectly anthropomorphic" God, but he follows up his discussion with the interesting suggestion that the poet relied too heavily on his readers' foreknowledge of the Biblical deity, neglecting in consequence his responsibility for "re-creating" God the Father as a figure in the poem. He also notes the tendency toward a "bifurcation" of divine qualities, enforced by presenting Father and Son in dramatic colloquy: "one half appropriating to itself His qualities of mercy, love, and gentleness,

the other His qualities of severity and sternness." One might add that Milton had to reconcile Old and New Testament conceptions of God within a single discourse; the Jehovah of *Genesis* (whom Mr. Peter calls "a complex deity") and the donor of an only-begotten Son had somehow to be conjoined, and the attempt succeeded imperfectly.

One can agree with many of the author's judgments, however, and still quarrel with his method, which to some extent belies his claim to deal with "the impact of the poem as we read it." He warns against "wrenching" characters and incidents "from their artistic context"; yet *context* for him generally means linguistic context, "what may be said to be objectively there in the sample he is examining." Fidelity to individual passages (sometimes read in an oddly literal-minded way) does not prevent Mr. Peter from lifting the "samples" themselves out of place and juxtaposing them in a manner that distorts our actual experience in reading; abstracting "character" from the order of presentation; and demanding a kind of Bradleian consistency in the conduct of plot. He forces us to see at once too much ("inconsistent" passages that may actually be separated by several books), and too little, since he reveals also a curious blindness to the poem's larger perspectives, leading, for instance, to complaints about the appropriateness of the "displaced mountain" simile in VI, while ignoring its relation to similar images and to the cosmic disorder which they all express.

Inconsistencies ought to be noticed; whether they affect us seriously while reading is another matter. Mr. Peter discerns a smudged logic in Book VI that is undeniably damaging; yet many of his claims elsewhere seem exaggerated. Thus he objects to the presentation in Book I of a Satan speaking in "oratorical periods" while immersed in liquid fire, and asserts that Milton "means us to see . . . that Satan is still undaunted, still capable of voicing his defiance through gritted teeth, while the boiling fire slaps at his face." But surely he means us to see nothing of the kind, and how many have actually "seen" what Mr. Peter "sees" here? Milton incessantly shifts our perspective, both within physical space and from physical to "interior" space, and concurrently, the degree to which visualization is expected. So here:

welt'ring by his side
One next himself in power, and next in crime,

Long after known in *Palestine*, and nam'd
Beelzebub. To whom th' Arch-Enemy,
And thence in Heav'n call'd Satan, with bold words
Breaking the horrid silence thus began.

If thou beest he; But O how fall'n! how chang'd
From him, who in the happy Realms of Light . . .

(i. 78-85)

Following the physically insistent *welt'ring*, Milton inserts references to Beelzebub's character and future fate, to Satan's nature, and to a detail that insists upon the impotence of the fallen in their new abode (*silence*, the absence of *articulate* sound). If by the time we encounter the speech, with its dazzling, anguished vision of loss, we are still conscious of slapping waves, it is not Milton's fault.

For Mr. Peter, passages like this reveal what he calls "artistic opportunism or effect-hunting." He is correct. Milton is exploiting an opportunity inherent in language itself; "the fact is" (to borrow a phrase from the critic) that sentences unfold in time and that our attention too moves serially. Although Milton intended us to read *Paradise Lost* architecturally, as we "read" St. Paul's Cathedral, he also knew that where detail is concerned the moment is all-important. Like most other composers in the larger forms, he counted on local intentness to preclude inconveniently comprehensive views. He may sometimes have trusted it too much; but recognition of emergent meaning as a fact of the reader's experience is part of the artist's tact and the critic's duty.

There is, nevertheless, a Johnsonian scrupulousness about Mr. Peter; he establishes a wholesome, even exhilarating atmosphere, defining his objections precisely and locating them resolutely, so that we are forced into assessing our own position. Grounds of disagreement are made perfectly plain; and they are often reducible to matters of taste. Mr. Peter is disturbed by incongruous juxtapositions—ontological, temporal, emotional, spatial; squeamish about angelic physiology; and oversensitive to the grotesque—that intermingling of planes of reality which intrudes persistently into seventeenth-century literature. One cannot argue, but only dissent, when the author speaks with spectacular inappropriateness of the retirement of the "uprooted Hills" in Book VI as a "Disney-like panorama," or complains that "Uriel seems to disapprove of laziness in angels, yet he himself slides down the sunbeams like a lazy child instead of flying." Who *wouldn't* slide down a sunbeam if it were available? "But these are *angels*," Mr.

Peter replies. His feeling for decorum is frequently outraged by Milton's doings in *Paradise Lost*, as some people's sensibilities are offended by the ponderous frivolities of Baroque art. These preferences are not really matter for critical discourse; they are merely to be recorded.

Like all of us, Mr. Peter is the prisoner of certain preconceptions; in his book, as in all human endeavors, limitation is the price paid for definition. His vision is partial, but what he sees is worth looking at.

Bryn Mawr College

ISABEL G. MACCAFFREY

Roland Mushat Frye, *God, Man, and Satan: Patterns of Christian Thought and Life in Paradise Lost, Pilgrim's Progress, and the Great Theologians* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960. x + 184 pp. \$3.75). THOUGH C. S. Lewis and John S. Diekhoff are not mentioned in this independent book, it invites comparison with both *A Preface to Paradise Lost* and *Milton's Paradise Lost: A Commentary on the Argument*. It also invites and suffers by comparison with Jacques Blondel's *Allégorie et réalisme dans The Pilgrim's Progress de Bunyan*.¹ *God, Man, and Satan* is more theological in purpose than either the *Preface* or the *Commentary*, and its handling of Satan recalls Lewis's only in the view of the serpentine incarnation of "Antichrist" as the most striking of the many ironies in his Miltonic biography.² In the second of the two parts into which his book is divided, "*Pilgrim's Progress* and the Christian Life," Frye is untroubled by Blondel's question whether, if Bunyan was uniquely concerned to present man's spiritual condition without degrading it or exalting it in a way to make it seem self-sufficient apart from grace, "de telles limites ne sont pas aussi celles de l'art."³

Both Blondel and Frye are mainly concerned with Bunyan's allegory, and both are aware of what the former calls "le réalisme de l'âme," which resolves itself into allegory. But Professor Frye is less interested in that mystery than in Bunyan's art of revealing self-characterization by figures like Mr. By-Ends and Mr. Worldly-wiseman. They are treated as cases of the self-love and self-deification which has

¹ *Archives de lettres modernes*, III (December, 1959), 1-47.

² P. 39.

³ P. 39.

⁴ P. 29.

been opposed to the love of God by Christian thinkers from St. Augustine to Karl Barth. In the file of case histories in *Pilgrim's Progress* they are diagnosed as suffering from the disease which is fatal to humanity's enemies like Maul and his fellow giants and to its superficial friends like Ignorance.

The analysis of human weakness in *Pilgrim's Progress* furnishes a setting for its master image of Christ as the Strait Gate and the Narrow Way which leads to God. The action is seen as a kind of symmetrical inversion of the theme of revolt against God in *Paradise Lost*. Yet the last three books of Milton's epic treat the theme of *Pilgrim's Progress*, and Professor Frye recognizes their reversal of the movement of the first nine books towards the Fall. In the final upward movement of Books X-XII he finds a "divine symmetry"⁵ of "most powerful aesthetic beauty, for as man's fall was through creaturely assault 'against the high supremacy of heav'n, Affecting Godhead, and so losing all,' so his reinstatement is through the divine emptying of the Son, who repudiates the fact that he is 'equal to God' and becomes a 'man among men on earth.'"

This treatment of *Pilgrim's Progress* does rare justice to Bunyan's purpose in writing but imperils the aesthetic interest of his allegory, which is seen⁶ as treated as the vehicle of an orthodox theology running from the Fathers of the Church to Kierkegaard's identification of Christ as "the Truth," which is "not a sum of sentences, not a definition of concepts, etc., but a life." Bunyan emerges as an existentialist whose allegory is called⁷ "a vitally progressive revelation" in which "the Scriptures become . . . existentially relevant in accordance with Whitehead's three stages in religious development: 'transition from God the void [before the allegory opens] to God the enemy [the stage of frustrated fear with which the story begins], and from God the enemy to God the companion [beginning when Christian enters the gate].'" There is a Procrustean pressure shaping the allegory into the mould of modern theology. At the same time exact sacramental interpretations are recognized (not always convincingly) in such incidents as the pilgrims' common meals, some of which are seen as eucharistic while others⁸ "recall the *agape* (*sic*) or love feasts mentioned in the New Testament."

The Introduction and the treatment of *Paradise Lost* in Part I of *God, Man, and Satan*, taken together, are not so long as the discus-

⁵ P. 79.

⁶ P. 140.

⁷ P. 140.

⁸ Pp. 138 and 102-103.

sion of *Pilgrim's Progress*, which is much less economically written. The case for regarding *Paradise Lost* as pure allegory is made,⁹ with quotations from Aquinas and Calvin, in terms of the "accommodation by which God's reality is typologically reduced from incomprehensibility and expressed in terms 'accommodated' to human understanding." So much light is thrown upon the theology of the poem by this method that it seems invidious to point out that it obscures Milton's demonology. Though his "portrait of evil unsurpassed for the profundity of its insight"¹⁰ is illuminated by Barth's saying that evil "can be intelligently treated only through fantasy and poetry," it does not follow that Milton's conception of Satan is adequately represented by Calvin's definition of him as "the sphere of atrocity and horror under the name of a person." If that definition (lifted not directly from Calvin but from Heinrich Quistorp's *Calvin's Doctrine of the Last Things*) is taken out of the whole context of Calvin's writings, it is misleading. His explicit emphasis upon the moral import of scriptural teaching about the devil and his angels ought not to eclipse his no less emphatic rebuke¹¹ of those who "fondly saye, that Diuels are nothing else but euill affections or perturbations of the mind, that are thrust into vs by our flesh. That may wee shortly do, because there be many testimonies of Scripture, and those plaine enough vppon this point. First, where the vnclane Spirites are called, Angels, Apostataes, which haue swarued out of kinde from their beginning, the verie names doe sufficiently expresse, that they are not motions or affections of mindes, but rather in deede as they be called mindes or Spirites endued with sense and vnderstanding." The passage goes on to affirm the main elements in Milton's demonology from the revolt of the rebel angels to their final condemnation "into chaines of darknesse." B. Rajan has challenged¹² all abstract conceptions of Calvin's Satan by quoting from the preceding chapter of the *Institution* a sentence which he regards as still representative of the views of Milton's contemporaries and presumably of the poet himself in its warning against "an enimie that is in courage most hardy, in strength most mightie, in policies most sutle, in diligence and celeritie un-

⁹ P. 157.

¹⁰ P. 23.

¹¹ *The Institution of the Christian Religion*, written by Latine by M. John Calvin, and translated into English according to the Authors last edition . . . by Thomas Norton (London, 1587), Book I, chapter xiv, paragraph 19; p. 49v.

¹² In *Paradise Lost and the Seventeenth Century Reader* (London; Chatto & Windus, 1947), p. 94.

wearable, with all sortes of engins plenteously furnished, in skill of warre most readie. . . ." The terms of "accommodation" in which Milton thought must be understood in the light of Rajan's historical evidence. It can be read psychologically as Mrs. Isabel Gamble MacCaffrey interprets it¹³ in the light of Mrs. Suzanne Langer's "identification of fact, symbol, and import, which underlies all literal belief in myth." The observation applies to all phases of Milton's demonology, including the "heavenly war," which Frye ignores, but which Diekhoff declares¹⁴ that Adam must believe literally, not as "literally true" but as approaching "as near the truth as his limited understanding can come."

By sharing his critic's simplified view of "the Genesis stories as saga, poetry, and parable,"¹⁵ Milton seems to Frye to have reduced the story of the Fall in *Paradise Lost* to an allegorical tale of man's perennial "quest for deity."¹⁶ So the *libido sciendi* against which Raphael warns Adam becomes insignificant in the complex "mortal sin original." The sin becomes simply hybris or the power-lust of the superman whom Albert Schweitzer has described as doomed to become inhuman in just the degree that he becomes superhuman.¹⁷ As a result the final question of the "fortunate Fall" is approached through St. Augustine's dictum¹⁸ that "man's usurpation upon God led him to know by suffering the evil which he had not mastered by avoiding it." Michael's reply to Adam's confidence in God's turning of evil into good "more wonderful / Than that which by creation first brought forth / Light out of darkness" is read¹⁹ simply as a divine command imposing "existential acceptance of God's redemption upon him." To interpret the fortunate Fall as Adam's "existentialist incorporation of God's redemption" comes close to turning Milton into a modern existentialist philosopher. How his shade regards that habilitation we can only conjecture, but he should at least be grateful for a book which defends his poem against sentimentalists who condemn it for its "pessimism" or mistake its treatment of the Fall as relieving Everyman from the duty of working out his own salvation.

University of Wisconsin

MERRITT Y. HUGHES

¹³ In *Paradise Lost as 'Myth'* (Cambridge; Harvard University Press, 1959), pp. 142-3.

¹⁴ In *Milton's Paradise Lost: A Commentary on the Argument* (New York; Columbia University Press, 1946), p. 10.

¹⁵ P. 62.

¹⁶ P. 52.

¹⁷ P. 51.

¹⁸ P. 60.

¹⁹ P. 81.

Frank E. Manuel, *The Eighteenth Century Confronts the Gods* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959. 336 pp. \$6.50).

IN this book Professor Manuel has undertaken a formidable task. Even a cursory acquaintance with eighteenth-century thought reveals that an obsession of the times was the nature of the gods and myths and their relevance to the contemporary mind. His approach to this problem, in England and on the Continent, is chronological—from about 1680 through the French Revolution—and ideational: he traces the shifts in emphasis from one theory of primitive mythic religion to another, and he examines the relevance of these theories for the idea of progress. One of the central themes which emerge is “the slow growth of the idea of a primitive mind and its relation to the contemporary.” Perhaps, he adds, “this was the most significant result of the investigation of the nature of myth and early religious experience” (p. 10).

The theories of myth which figure most prominently in the book are the “psychological” and the “Euhemerist-historical.” By means of the one (as in the work of Bayle, Fontenelle, and several of the *philosophes*) the primitive mind was equated with the mentality of the contemporary savage. Such a mind was crude and fanatical, and its mythic constructs stood as grim warnings to the ideals of rationalistic progressivism. By means of the other (as in Newton and several members of the *Académie des Inscriptions*) the fables were expunged of the marvelous and interpreted as rational or irrational socio-philosophical prehistory, depending upon the particular interpreter. The last two chapters deal with the rise of the “new allegorism” in the work of Gêbelin and Dupuis and the new valuation of the mythopoetic mind over the mathematical in the views of Hamann and Herder.

This summary does not do justice to the scope of Professor Manuel's study, but his emphasis quite clearly is on the various interpretations of myth in relation to the age's ideals of progress. By this norm myth had but negative value at best. But if *this* is the eighteenth century's confrontation of the gods, it is difficult to understand how myth toward the end of century came to be invested with positive value. The revaluations of myth by Gêbelin, Dupuis, and Bryant, among others, were neither brief nor inconsequential revivals of outworn allegorical modes; in a large measure their conceptions of the symbolic unity and intrinsic value of all myths were made possible by the deistic-orthodox controversies on the nature of primitive religion.

And it is this tradition of syncretic mythography, with all its implications for the Romantic conception of myth as imaginative truth, which Professor Manuel either slights or disregards.

My own studies of the attitudes toward myth in the period suggest far less discontinuity between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and far less militant hostility than Professor Manuel finds. There is some truth certainly in his statement that "the science of mythology came to be related first to the investigation of primitive religion and soon to the fundamental psychic problem of the age, the very nature of religion itself." But myth became a problem for the age precisely because Christianity had become a problem. The poly-histors of the seventeenth century had sought to save the content of the faith by showing its "connexions" with pagan antiquity; they had in fact to universalize it in order to save it, and this they did by means of diffusionist theories. The eighteenth century inherited the problem, and it was the Deists who attacked it most cogently, for in their arguments for a natural religion as against a local revealed one they raised the whole question of the nature and efficacy of myth. The primitive monotheism republished by the Deists forced orthodox apologists to postulate a primitive revealed Christianity and to account for the ways in which the several fabulous religions had derived from or were related to the true religion.

The work of William Stukeley (misprinted "Stuckeley," p. 98) is typical. In defending revealed religion against the Deists he showed in his several treatises that elements of patriarchal "Christianity" and of classical myth were preserved symbolically in the rites and myths of the Druids; that to study the ancient Celts therefore was not mere antiquarianism but the investigation of the essential symbolic unity of religious expression. His works were a primary influence in the Celticism of the latter half of the century, an important confrontation of the gods that Professor Manuel does not notice. Myth was invested with positive cultural relevance when Stukeley and scores of others like him had shown that the sacred and profane traditions were not as antithetical as supposed, that indeed if the sacred tradition were to be preserved it could be preserved only with the kind of evidence that myths could afford. And more and more as the century progressed the evidence for the inter-relationships of all mythic religions tended to be symbolical rather than doctrinal, poetical rather than historical. The question asked by the romantic mythographers, "What is the essential nature and unity of myth?" could not be

posed until the theological syncretists had demonstrated that such an universal homogeneity of myth existed.

There was in the century also a counter-balance to those progressivists who, like Boulanger, Holbach, and de Brosses, interpreted the myths as products of a childlike mind, a mind concrete and unable to comprehend the relation between cause and effect, and hence a primitivism rigorously to be exposed. A number of French and English thinkers conceived the language of both the Bible and the myths as analogical or symbolical expression of profound truths, the only kind of expression indeed of which man anywhere and anytime was capable. Their suspicion of Locke's notion of abstract ideas and their distrust of mathematical reasoning led them to elaborate an epistemology which confined man's modes of knowledge to his senses only, but if his sense perceptions were properly applied and interpreted they brought him the highest kind of spiritual knowledge. The primitive mind was just this kind of mind, as Bishop Lowth had shown with reference to Hebrew poetry and a number of theologians had reasoned with reference to myth. In England particularly it took no "counter-attack from the East" by Hamann and Herder for men to value the intrinsic nature of the ancient mythopoeic mind, as the symbolical systems of myth by R. P. Knight, Sir William Drummond, and other romantic mythographers attest.

These are two aspects of primitivism which it seems to me are important correctives to Professor Manuel's emphasis on the idea of progress in the age's speculations on the gods. With his categorization of the main modes of interpreting myth in the century I think no one can quarrel. But many of his generalizations need qualification. When he states that "the traditional allegorical interpretations of the gods had been crowded out by Euhemerism and the new psychology of religion" (p. 245), he does not take into account the many dictionaries and handbooks which carried on the allegorical tradition. When he says that the etymological mode of interpreting myth exhausted itself after Bochart (p. 116), he has missed the abiding importance of that exegetical technique throughout the century. And when he asserts that Bryant plagiarized Boulanger's thesis regarding the Deluge (p. 275), he forgets the tradition on which Boulanger himself is drawing.

These latter strictures are minor and they may appear pedantic upon a book which is admirably free from pedantry. But despite Professor Manuel's statement that we are to expect only "general lines

of development" and not "bibliographical exhaustiveness," we are apt to feel that often the lines are too general and particularly that there is an imbalance here between the primitivists' and the progressivists' evaluations of the gods. But no one, I think, will read this book without interest, for despite the forbidding sound of "rationalistic progressivism" and the like, Professor Manuel has dealt with fascinating and important materials for the intellectual history of the times. He has written with verve, his book is handsomely printed, and it includes nine excellent plates.

Ohio State University

ALBERT J. KUHN

Jerome Beaty, "Middlemarch" from Notebook to Novel; a Study of George Eliot's Creative Method (Urbana, Ill.: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1960. ix + 134 pp. Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, 47).

THROUGH a careful study of the manuscript, the "Quarry for *Middlemarch*," the circumstances of publication, and relevant material in the letters and journals, Jerome Beaty seeks to answer the question, "How did George Eliot write that great novel *Middlemarch*?" In separate chapters he considers the fusion of the original "Middlemarch" story with "Miss Brooke," the effects of serial publication on the structure of the novel, the relation between the notes in the "Quarry" and the finished work, and the revisions that Eliot made in the manuscript version of a typical chapter—Chapter 81. Mr. Beaty's examination of the evidence is extremely thorough, his inferences are generally sound, and some of his conclusions are quite interesting.

He finds that publication in parts had a beneficial effect on the novel's artistic unity. Eliot's original intention seems to have been to devote whole books at a time to the "Middlemarch" and "Miss Brooke" elements, but in order to sustain her readers' interest during parts publication she was led to deal with all the plot elements in each part. This made Eliot "consider more carefully the relation of one story to the others and one group of characters to the others. . . . The requirements of parts publication thus virtually forced George Eliot to unify *Middlemarch* in a way that she had not originally intended" (p. 55).

Mr. Beaty's study of the "Quarry" reveals that although Eliot had

decided upon the major events quite early, "the sequences and relationships were not too clear even in the later stages of planning" (p. 101). The frequent changes of plan in the notebook and the disparities between the final notebook plan and the completed novel indicate that Eliot's conceptions of character, situation, and plot evolved as she wrote. "The greatest 'planning' stage," Mr. Beaty observes, "was the writing itself" (p. 103); "writing was to her a process: the act of embodying skeletal notebook plans in the flesh of fiction acted upon her and suggested to her expressions and events she could not have foreseen" (p. 115). Mr. Beaty's study of the revisions that Eliot made in Chapter 81 re-enforces this conclusion. Her reworking of the crucial scene in which Rosamond is moved to confess that Will really loves Dorothea, for example, indicates that Eliot was herself "only growing aware of the motivation as she wrote it" (p. 119). In the process of writing, it seems, Eliot both expressed and discovered what she had to say (p. 123).

Mr. Beaty's findings do not significantly increase our understanding or appreciation of *Middlemarch*—that was not his purpose. And they touch rather more lightly than Mr. Beaty thinks upon the nature of the creative process. Their importance lies in the light they shed upon George Eliot's method of composition, in the contribution they make to our image of Eliot as a conscious formal artist. And they make us less inclined to accept Henry James' description of Eliot's novels as moralized fables, "the last word of a philosophy endeavouring to teach by example," and more inclined to accept Eliot's own description of her novels as "a set of experiments in life."

Unfortunately, the value of "*Middlemarch*" from *Notebook to Novel* is greatly diminished by Mr. Beaty's poor arrangement and selection of materials. Instead of giving us his conclusions supported by carefully selected samplings of evidence, Mr. Beaty overwhelms us with a mass of loosely connected facts and inferences. In Chapter I, he goes through the first 236 pages of the manuscript section by section and sometimes page by page; in Chapter III, he goes through the "Quarry" page by page and often item by item; in Chapter IV, he examines the manuscript of Chapter 81 page by page. In Chapters I and III, the reader becomes bewildered by the glut of details and begins to wonder what Mr. Beaty is arguing about. Fortunately, Mr. Beaty has provided summaries (on pp. 28-30, 38-42, and 99-104); and these summaries, with some slight expansion, would, I think, be enough.

Much of the material that Mr. Beaty discusses does not seem relevant to the topic—how George Eliot wrote *Middlemarch*. In Chapter I, he is more concerned with how the manuscript got to be the way it is than he is with the evolution of the novel. Some reconstruction of the history of the manuscript is necessary in order to discover how Eliot joined the original "Middlemarch" story with "Miss Brooke," but Mr. Beaty seems obsessed with the manuscript itself, fascinated by its puzzles and determined to resolve them, if possible, whether they are important or not. Chapter III has the same fault as Chapter I: far too much attention is given to the question of how the "Quarry" came to be as it is.

On the whole, I would say that Mr. Beaty has convincingly demonstrated his central thesis that "writing, to George Eliot, was not an unpremeditated outpouring; neither was it a mechanical following of detailed blueprint. It was a process of evolution and discovery" (p. 123). But his study is rambling, difficult to read, and much longer than it need be.

Michigan State University

BERNARD J. PARIS

Fred H. Higginson, ed., *Anna Livia Plurabelle; the Making of a Chapter* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1960. 111 pp. \$3.75). "ANNA Livia Plurabelle" provides us with all the now available versions of Joyce's famous chapter before its final form in *Finnegans Wake*. It compresses these fifteen versions, preserved in manuscript, typescript, and corrected proof as well as early printings, into six texts, labeled A to F, and shows the layers of Joyce's revisions by a convenient system of bracketings. It provides as well a brief introductory chapter and some textual notes. One might expect from this sound system and the care which must accompany it an informative and even exciting book. One finds instead a surprising but inadequate one. The surprises one cannot complain of; they are owing to Joyce himself and are themselves informative. The inadequacy is editorial.

In its defense one may say that the book does not claim to annotate or offer critical comment on the ALP chapter (except for tracing the development of a single paragraph), that it does what it sets out to do: provides the texts for study. The reader may, however, be grate-

ful for the texts and still ask what are the responsibilities for an editor. By any scholarly standard Professor Higginson has taken his responsibilities very lightly. His book is, in fact, a kind of do-it-yourself kit and may be a logical outgrowth of American Joyce criticism, which has achieved a deserved notoriety for singularity. Higginson's treatment of the possible sources of the paragraph which he traces in some detail, a description of Anna Livia bathing and dressing (*FW*, pp. 206-7), will serve to illustrate the do-it-yourself method:

The paragraph has some verbal parallels with Étaín's bath in *The Wooing of Étaín* and *The Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel*, descriptions which are themselves almost identical. And there are similar passages in Burton's translation of *The Thousand and One Nights*, *Iliad* XIV (the suggestion of M. J. C. Hodgart), Swinburne's "Laus Veneris," and doubtless a great many other sources.

It would have been an easy economy of others' time to indicate which of the *Nights* and to note that the only parallel in *Laus Veneris* is the single phrase "her armlets and her anklets" (Stanza 31). The Irish sagas certainly call for further instructions. *The Wooing of Étaín* exists not only in several translations but in three different versions. Since the discovery of some lost leaves from the Yellow Book of Lecan and the publication of the complete text in 1938, in *Ériu* XII, the passage in question is no longer considered part of *The Wooing of Étaín*; and the student might well be puzzled at finding no trace of it in the most recent and best editions of the saga of that name. The description of Étaín's bath is found only in the Egerton MS, and I can find no single parallel in the translations I have checked: Müller's, Leahy's, and Lady Gregory's. (I include the last, a redaction rather than a translation, only because Joyce probably read it in *Gods and Fighting Men*.) Nor can I find parallels in the translations I checked of *The Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel*: those given by Whitley Stokes and Myles Dillon.

The editorial shortcomings of "*Anna Livia Plurabelle*" are the more conspicuous because the publication of these early drafts offers a rare opportunity for annotation, for the specific explanatory or interpretive comment that is the greatest present need in the study of *Finnegans Wake*. This is, moreover, a small book of only 111 pages, with ample room for a more detailed introduction. To refer the reader instead, as Professor Higginson does, to his own unpublished

dissertation is of little practical help except to those academic devotees who need it least; and the implication of buried treasure merely sharpens the grievance.

Grounds for complaint would indeed be fewer if the introduction were omitted altogether, since it exhibits grave (and comic) deficiencies in style, critical judgment, and accuracy of information. Jargon such as "the facti-form in *Dubliners*" and "the arti-form in *Finnegans Wake*" should be excised; the twice-repeated misuse of *bou* for *boue* should be corrected. Deciding that *Finnegans Wake* is not a novel "but rather a work of the fictive imagination" does not lead us far; and calling the first draft of ALP "a viable sketch, gravid with possibilities Joyce knew how to nurture into life," with its vision of the pregnant foetus, is just such an Irish bull as Joyce delighted to collect. (The one preserved in the ALP chapter is "where the hand of man has never set foot," p. 203.) To say that "mother-naked" in "mother-naked she washed herself" "reinforces the maternal imagery associated with Anna Livia" is a ludicrous misunderstanding of a common idiom; *mother-naked* describes the newborn child, not the mother.

A more significant deficiency may be demonstrated by such a sentence as this: "'Oyster-face' is possibly intended to remind us of Tenniel's oysters illustrating 'The Walrus and the Carpenter,' for Carroll and his works appear somehow on almost every page of FW." The last clause exceeds even Kenner's overstatement of Joyce's use of Carroll; it is patently untrue. "Anna Livia oysterface" appears as early as Text A, and Joyce's statement to Miss Weaver that he came on Carroll quite late should at least be taken account of. Since the explanation given is unlikely, other obvious possibilities should not be ignored. "Oyster-faced" was common slang in Joyce's youth for "needing a shave." Either this incongruity, the sort he was fond of, or merely an allusion to the Clontarf oyster-beds near the mouth of the Liffey is a more likely explanation than Tenniel.

But belaboring the faults of the introduction is perhaps to be as well as to seem ungrateful for the texts which Professor Higginson's enterprise has made available. They are rich and rewarding. As one watches four pages turn into twenty, one watches a remarkable process of deliberate obscuring and ramification which furnishes full confirmation, if it is still needed, of the incredible exercises of the ear, memory, and imagination (as well as fancy) Joyce demanded of his reader, and of himself, and which might reopen some questions as to

how to read and how to annotate this novel. To choose brief examples, is the reader expected to translate "Sendai" (*FW*, p. 196) back into "Sunday" (Text D), or "Butterman's" (*FW*, p. 210) back into Buttermilk (Text D)? Since the "Odet!" of Text F (*FW*, p. 200) was "O that!" in Text E, is Odette, whether of *Swann's Way* or *Swan Lake*, to be dismissed? It is standard practice in Joyce criticism to assume that a triple reading is required in such cases, but the assumption may be too solemn.

Most of Joyce's revisions are additions; "he never blotted a word" is hardly an exaggeration, in this chapter, at any rate, except in the sense of obscuring it by vowel and consonantal changes. (His private "Grimm's Law" might well repay serious study.) His additions may themselves be compared with Elizabethan "copie," although they ramify as well as amplify. They fall into curiously distinct patterns; a surprising number of them are 1) proverbial, 2) rhymed ("where in thunder did she plunder," "Save us and tagus," *FW*, pp. 209 and 208, Texts E and D), 3) rhythmical, especially the anapestic-iambic combination, often parodic and often ballad-beat, which pervades the entire book ("the diliskydrear on our drier side and the vilde vetchvine agin us," "in a period gown of changeable jade that would robe the wood of two cardinals' chairs and crush poor Cullen and smother Mac Cabe," *FW*, pp. 209, 200; Text E), and 4) the formulas, repeated from chapter to chapter, that are thematic and connective. This latter deserves lengthy illustration, but one example must serve: "Sudds for me and supper for you and the doctor's bill for Joe John" (*FW*, p. 215, Text C). (Cf. "A roof for may and a reef for hughbutt under his bridge suits tony" and "A palashe for hirs, a saucy for hers and ladlelike spoons for the wonner," *FW*, pp. 6 and 246.) Not only these patterns but many other aspects of Joyce's revisions—the comedy, to slip in one example, is hardly apparent until Text C—offer rich and new possibilities for the interpretation and evaluation of *Finnegans Wake*. "Anna Livia Plurabelle" is, in spite of its imperfections, a welcome and valuable addition to Joyce materials.

Connecticut College

MACKIE JARRELL

James Franklin Beard, ed., *The Letters and Journals of James Fenimore Cooper*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard Univ. Press, 1960. Vol. I: xlv + 444 pp. Vol. II: viii + 420 pp. \$20.00).

MR. Beard states in his Introduction that he has had in hand for some years critical and biographical studies of Cooper which required consolidation of primary sources heretofore widely scattered. In 1948 he concluded an agreement with the family which not only gave him full access to their holdings but also committed him "to collect facsimiles of all discoverable and available letters to and from Cooper," for eventual deposit in some institutional library. Three pages of acknowledgments testify to the thoroughness of a search more often entrusted in these days to a collaborating staff, well supplied with secretarial assistance, than to a single individual. Mr. Beard's patience and industry will, he tells us, increase by approximately two hundred per cent the printed letters and diaries written by Cooper. At least three and probably four more volumes seem to be indicated.

For nearly forty years Cooper's letters have been most conveniently accessible in the two-volume *Correspondence* (Yale University Press, 1922) edited by his grandson with the assistance of Henry A. Beers. The differences between that collection and Mr. Beard's are numerous and striking. The *Correspondence* had almost no editorial explanations whatsoever; it included a great many letters written to Cooper as well as those which he wrote himself; and its point of view was frankly that of the family: "the original letters contain much of too intimate a nature for the eyes of the public even now: this has been eliminated" (I, 4). In contrast, Mr. Beard has annotated names and allusions with indefatigable interest and remarkable ingenuity; he has promised to provide, when the time comes, an index of letters received by Cooper, many of which have been printed elsewhere and many of which are referred to in his notes; and he has evidently not been asked to bowdlerize his texts in any way.

Mr. Beard's editorial methods are admirably precise, and his comments are invariably clear and sensibly proportioned. The casual reader, who sometimes dislikes the distraction of footnotes, may think there is some over-editing, but no scholar is likely to make that complaint. The only reservation which I have, and it is a very minor one, is that Mr. Beard once in a great while permits himself a jarring metaphor. He tells us, for example (I, 25), that in 1822 circumstances "induced Cooper to move his wife and children to a rented

house in New York City (554 Broadway), where he threw himself entirely on his pen."

One illustration must suffice to suggest the richness and usefulness of the new material in a collection which will long be a mine for special students. Cooper's patronage of the fine arts has long been of interest to their historians (cf. Henry T. Tuckerman, *Book of the Artists*, 1867, pp. 256-257). While he was in Europe between 1828 and 1832 he gave a commission to Horatio Greenough, the American sculptor then resident in Florence, for the "Chanting Cherubs," a marble group which attracted widespread attention when exhibited in the United States. Cooper was known, moreover, to have had a part in securing for Greenough a government grant for the execution of a colossal and, as it turned out, controversial statue of George Washington. One who seeks for information on these matters in the *Correspondence* finds one letter from Cooper to Greenough (1836), five letters from Greenough to Cooper (1830-36), ten allusions to Greenough in letters to Cooper from William Dunlap, S. F. B. Morse, and others, and one mention of Greenough in a letter from Cooper to his wife (1836). On the other hand, the first two volumes of the *Letters and Journals*, although they carry us only through 1833, provide a fascinating series of nineteen previously unpublished letters from Cooper to Greenough (1829-33), from manuscripts owned by David Richardson of Washington, D. C. From the National Archives, moreover, Mr. Beard has recovered Cooper's fulsome letter to President Jackson (1832), urging Old Hickory to support Greenough's scheme for the Washington statue. At many other points in Cooper's early life the *Letters and Journals* provide similar new evidence, bound to modify the future interpretation of his somewhat choleric temperament.

Cooper's journals are for the most part travel diaries from his time in Europe. Some have been published in part; others were expanded into travel books. They are not as historically important nor on the whole as interesting as such letters as those just described, but they have considerable biographical importance. A later journal, for a portion of 1848, was printed as an appendix in the *Correspondence* and will presumably appear in due course in one of Mr. Beard's later volumes.

University of Pennsylvania

THEODORE HORNBERGER

Norman Friedman, *E. E. Cummings, The Art of His Poetry* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1960. viii + 195 pp. \$4.00). IT

is Professor Friedman's apparent aim in this full-scale critical evaluation of E. E. Cummings' poetic career to assure Cummings a position in the first rank of contemporary poets. The undertaking is an ambitious one, as Professor Friedman's introductory statement admits, since it must first dispel the indifference of many "influential critics" (Blackmur, Ransom, Wilson, Honig, Jarrell, Untermeyer, Matthiessen, G. S. Fraser, Kazin and Bogan are the ones listed), as well as counter the vast barrage of barbs hurled at the experimental poet from both the literary right and left. It is to the author's credit that he disdains to handle the effete charges that Cummings is an *enfant terrible* or a "typographer's nemesis"; instead he tackles the important condemnations: "that he lacks maturity of vision, variety of forms, intelligibility of diction, true seriousness, a sense of artistic purpose, and development." These are no quixotic windmills, and Professor Friedman's subtle and adroitly critical acumen in his engagement with them is impressive.

Several approaches are employed to attain superior ranking for Cummings: Professor Friedman credits him with a "tragic vision" and "moral seriousness" (defending Cummings as humanitarian), gauges the steady progression of Cummings' artistic development in language, form and concept (in order to prove that he is as "traditional" as Robert Frost), and delineates the constantly conscious control that the poet demonstrates in his experimentation and innovations. The six chapters of the study contribute in various ways: the first ("Vision") determines the persona used by Cummings and investigates his *mystique*; the second ("Action") discusses the types of poetry Cummings has written, from descriptive to meditative and reflective, from poems of praise to satire; the third ("Voice") investigates style, the uses of inflated rhetoric, burlesque, a neutral tone, and combinations of these; the fourth ("Device") examines his prosody, stanzaic forms, syntactical aberrations and typographical distortions; the fifth ("Creation") traces the various stages of a mature Cummings poem through numerous revisions, exemplifying the poet's firm control of his medium and material. Two concluding chapters ("Growth" and a review of a recent volume, *95 Poems*) serve to reiterate the claims made for Cummings in the initial chapter.

A handful of defects, however, mar the author's success. Too often he resorts to declamation ("Who are we, therefore, to say . . ." and

"He is right; he is right if all our sages, saints, and prophets are right: and we are wrong . . ."). The contention that Cummings is democratic and humanitarian holds up only within the context of the examples cited, and many others can be marshalled to disprove it—"Humanity / i hate you," "that incredible / unanimal mankind," "hundreds upon thousands of / people so-called"—or at least indicate a serious ambivalence in Cummings' attitudes. But the most significant error is Professor Friedman's assertion that Cummings loves "little people" (including racial and religious minorities). How then does the author account for such lines as "a kike is the most dangerous / machine as yet invented," "ancient pompous jews," "a nigger / caught in his hand / a star no bigger / than not to understand" (Professor Friedman claims that Cummings praises "Negroes," but Cummings' noun is invariably "niggers"), "IKEY (GOLDBERG)'S WORTH I'M / TOLD \$ SEVERAL MILLION," and the conclusive "but eye certainly hate the juse"? And perhaps one should also question the moot distinction awarded to Cummings by his advocate of having been an "avant-garde" anti-Communist during the Marxian thirties.

Professor Friedman's contribution is nonetheless an outstanding one, especially in ridding the critical air of such misconceptions as Cummings' willful obscurity, his perpetual adolescence, his refusal to "come to grips" with the real world, his carelessness as a craftsman, and his limitations in diction. The poet emerges from this study—if not as a major poet with a vastly humanistic scope—at least as a conscious artist (with an almost Joycean "meticulosity") who commands his material with skill, wit, intensity and a "sensual mysticism." But Cummings' serious flaws remain: a flagrant pettiness and ego-orientation, ambivalent and confused feelings towards various fellow humans, occasional naive exclamations ("—it's april(yes, april; my darling)it's spring!"), and even an echo of Tin Pan Alley in some of his most reflective verse ("sweet spring is your / time is my time is our / time").

Louisiana State University

BERNARD BENSTOCK

Walter J. Slatoff, *Quest for Failure; a Study of William Faulkner* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell Univ. Press, 1960. x + 275 pp. \$4.00).

I DISLIKE having to say so, but it seems to me this book would have made a fairly substantial article. The first half of it is devoted to a much fuller than necessary demonstration that Faulkner has a "polar imagination," that he sees everything in terms of unresolvable oppositions, finds everything ambiguous, is, in short, deeply ambivalent in his response to life. Oxymoron is the hallmark of his style, polar antitheses in everything from characters to ideas the commonest feature of his novels. Having established so much, Mr. Slatoff examines the major novels and finds them lacking in clarity and resolution. Their endings "leave unresolved the question of the meaningfulness of the human efforts and suffering we have witnessed." In his conclusion Mr. Slatoff decides that the evidence offered by Faulkner's statements in interviews, such as his preference for the splendid failure of Wolfe over the limited success of Hemingway, corroborates the evidence offered by the works, making it necessary to conclude that Faulkner is engaged in a "deliberate quest for failure."

There is considerable truth in Mr. Slatoff's main contentions, as there is also a disarming modesty and frankness in his procedure. If the book had come out fifteen years ago it might have forestalled some of those readings of Faulkner that find more clarity in the work than exists. Today the briefest comment that can be made on the first half of the book, where Mr. Slatoff shows that motion and rest, black and white, sound and silence, and so on, are always paired and left in unresolved opposition, is *déjà vu*. On the second half, the readings of the novels, the appropriate comment might take the form of a question: granted that we find many of the same polarities, contradictions, evidences of ambivalence in *The Sound and the Fury*, for example, that we find in *A Fable*, why is it that *The Sound and the Fury* remains a very great novel while *A Fable* is a failure and a bore? Actually, Mr. Slatoff's discussion of the two novels tends to reduce them to the same level, but even if we ignore this implication of his treatment (he insists repeatedly that he is not evaluating), it strikes me that criticism that throws no light on this question is of very limited value, more appropriately placed in a specialized article than in a general book-length critical study.

Mr. Slatoff anticipates that many of his readers will find his conclusions "unpalatable." They will wonder why his tone is "often irritable and annoyed." He explains that, despite his belief that

ambivalence is a valid point of view, and despite his sharing "much of Faulkner's uncertainty about whether life has pattern or meaning," he is irritated by Faulkner's work because of his "feeling that Faulkner's fictional world is in many respects even more ambiguous and complex than the real one and that this is, in part, the result of a deliberate quest for failure." The evaluating-or-not-evaluating ambiguity that pervades the whole book, from its title on, is apparent here. Mr. Slatoff is not evaluating Faulkner's work, he is just annoyed by it, and he has gone to great lengths to show us why annoyance is a more just and proper reaction than aesthetic pleasure. Mr. Slatoff ought to know that evaluation by implication is often more effective than explicit statement. There is something either disingenuous or naive about Mr. Slatoff's attitude on this matter.

How good are Faulkner's best books? Is it true, as Mr. Slatoff implies but does not say, that all the major novels are about equally ambivalent and incoherent, so that no reading of them that comes out with any clear general meaning can be valid? This seems to me the main issue raised by the book and I want to end by commenting on it, or rather by suggesting the kinds of comments that might be made if space permitted. Mr. Slatoff has in effect called for a great reduction in Faulkner's stature as an artist, whether he wants to evaluate or not. But is he quite certain he knows just how ambiguous the "real" world is? And if he is certain, is he prepared to apply a philosophic or theological test all through literature? Unlike Mr. Slatoff, I am not prepared to say I share Faulkner's "uncertainty about whether life has pattern or meaning," but I find no great difficulty in granting Faulkner his point of view when I read his successful works. Faulkner's characters tend to be "extreme" types, as Mr. Slatoff says, and they are not "integrated," but does a novelist have an obligation to present integrated characters? Or to resolve life's ultimate ambiguities in his conclusions?

I suspect that Mr. Slatoff's thesis has some bearing on Faulkner's decline after *Go Down, Moses*. The critic who tries to explain the shape of Faulkner's career as a whole will have to start from Mr. Slatoff's demonstration that the seeds of the incoherence found, for instance, in the talk of Gavin Stevens may be discerned also in the earliest work. But he will also have to consider such questions as the conditioning of Faulkner's thought by the intellectual atmosphere of the Twenties. If "reason" is identified with the conclusions of reductive positivism and the attitudes of "the modern temper," one

might well be driven to declare Truth a matter solely for the "heart" to decide. Faulkner's tortured ambivalence is related to history as well as to temperament. Mr. Slatoff's failure to go into this is another reason why I find his conclusions not so much unpalatable as of limited usefulness.

Brown University

HYATT H. WAGGONER

Herbert J. Hunt, *Balzac's Comédie humaine* (London: The Athlone Press and Fairlawn, N. J.: Essential Books, 1959. xv + 506 pp. \$8.00).

PROFESSOR Hunt, long known for his work on the socialist press and the author of the best biography of Balzac that we possess in English, establishes himself with this book even more firmly in the innermost circle of Balzacians. Like Lovenjoul's great history of the master's works and the Cerfberr-Christophe *Répertoire*, Professor Hunt's richly detailed study of the *Comédie humaine* is not only a source of illumination to those who know little of Balzac, but also a work of reference for the initiated. This is a "descriptive history," in which the author seeks to catch the movement of Balzac's mind and the evolution of his conception of the *Comédie*: "to watch Balzac's purpose unfolding from 1829 to 1848 and to put the individual works into their general chronological context and their relationship with one another" (p. vii). This is indeed a gargantuan task, made all the more difficult by a decision to address, among others, readers who might only have a sketchy knowledge of Balzac and thus to summarize for their benefit the action of every text of the *Comédie*.

It is therefore something of a tour de force to have managed to include in this one volume, stout though it is, so many of the results of recent scholarship, in the dating of the works, the identification of the sources and models of various characters and the changes in these characters as they reappear in various novels, particularly after 1842. And yet Professor Hunt, because of the very ambitiousness of his all-encompassing gaze, has had to pay the price exacted of many compilers of immense amounts of information. He has had to reduce his own critical comment to a modest level and to eschew examination of unsettled minor questions. (An example of this is the identification of Henry Monnier as the model for Bixiou [pp. 188-189], but without

any weighing of the case for other possible models, such as Laurent-Jan.)

Professor Hunt's organization of his book into chapters treating "contemporaneous or roughly contemporaneous works" seems most reasonable. A history of the *Comédie* requires a chronological approach, but profits immensely from the author's willingness to indulge in judicious departures from the strict sequence of dates. The book is at its best when Professor Hunt has before him a particular work or group of works to be digested in the light of the relevant scholarly studies. The author is fair, he is informed, and handles extremely well the task of weaving into his analysis of the novels pertinent biographical details, the scholarly findings and arguments of others, as well as a running critical commentary of his own. A constant sifting operation, however, is required of the reader who would keep these elements of the text clearly apart in his mind.

There are sections of more general literary comment that I find less satisfying. A few sentences from the last chapter may be illustrative:

... he [Balzac] has pierced through to the core of human nature and shown it as it is: potentially good, potentially bad, rarely neutral, often mediocre, capable of great extremes, but always human and therefore never entirely alienated from human sympathy (p. 453).

Significant also is the fact that a history of Balzacian criticism would show how frequently the name of Balzac has been coupled with that of Shakespeare. Cool judgment might object that only at supreme moments could Balzac rise to such Olympian heights. But, like Shakespeare, Dante, Molière and Cervantes, he offers a wealth and breadth of experience, a knowledge of human nature on which each successive generation can draw according to its tastes and needs. His work forms part of that immense literary treasure which the novel-form has accumulated during the centuries (p. 455).

Impeccable scholarship rather than literary criticism would seem to be Professor Hunt's forte, and his book might have been more even in quality if he had omitted his last chapter of evaluation, especially since both this chapter and others are punctuated by expressions of reluctance to move into what Professor Hunt himself refers to as "the clouds." A small reproach, incidentally, inspired by a reference to Gide on the same page (p. 453): Hunt mentions a number of Gide's comments on Balzac in the *Journal*, but neglects to say anything of the passages on Balzac in his lectures on Dostoevsky.

Generally, Professor Hunt is quite willing to come to grips with the arguments of other scholars. At times, however, he seems to defer perhaps too modestly to the authority of the "experienced" novelist

(p. viii), the "trained" philosopher (p. 53) and "trained" historians (p. 442). One is led to wonder whether Professor Hunt accords respect to the arguments of these sometimes anonymous experts simply on the basis of their training and experience.

The Balzacian will find little that is new in this work; literary critics will, I think, not be particularly impressed by Professor Hunt's comments. But, as a dense, skilful, well-ordered compilation of extremely useful knowledge about the *Comédie humaine*, the book is without peer and should be on the shelves of all serious students of Balzac.

Stanford University

RAYMOND GIRAUD

Albert Sonnenfeld, *L'Œuvre poétique de Tristan Corbière* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1960. viii + 221 pp.). L'EXAMEN technique que semble annoncer le titre n'occupe qu'un chapitre de l'étude, laquelle appartient au type vie-et-œuvre. Le point de vue est surtout celui du biographe et de l'historien de la littérature. L'œuvre est examinée dans ses rapports psychologiques avec la vie et dans ses rapports d'influence avec d'autres œuvres, antérieures et postérieures. La biographie est détaillée, la bibliographie très abondante. L'étude dans son ensemble est mesurée, solide, et devrait fournir une introduction utile aux étudiants de Corbière. Dans son analyse psychologique, M. Sonnenfeld distingue "deux mondes" (Paris et la Bretagne); mais il en indique lui-même un troisième (la mer), voire un quatrième (l'amour). L'assertion selon laquelle "Paris signifie solitude et damnation; la Bretagne solidarité humaine et salut religieux" me semble trompeuse: Corbière mérite de n'être pas claudélisé. Les notations bretonnes n'apparaissent pas tellement moins ironiques et nauséuses que les notations parisiennes. Et la différence peut être due à la date de composition plutôt qu'au lieu d'inspiration. L'examen technique n'apporte rien de bien neuf. L'essentiel semble déjà avoir été dit sur cette œuvre qui offre surtout des ruptures et des ébauches. Au lieu de construire, Corbière gesticule. Cette gesticulation brise certains cadres: la complaisance pour le Moi, pour le Masque, fait place à un jeu de massacre entre les moi, entre les masques. Ce n'est sans doute qu'une question de mots, mais au lieu de parler, à la suite des surréalistes, d'inconscient, il me semble

préférable de dire que Corbière s'oriente vers une poésie de la conscience. La conscience est le carrefour des perspectives, et leur conflit; la conscience est le champ où les moi font la ronde, dansent clignotants comme lucioles. Mais il fallait faire tendre cette conception dramatique des moi vers une dialectique; il fallait élargir la vision humaine en vision cosmogonique; à la décomposition de vers réguliers, il fallait substituer la composition de vers libres. Il fallait passer de Corbière au dernier Laforgue. Le livre de M. Sonnenfeld se termine sur des lettres inédites de Corbière potache. On y apprend qu'il se lavait les dents tous les deux jours, les pieds tous les samedis. Et l'horreur du lycée m'a couru sur l'échine.

Indiana University

ROBERT CHAMPIGNY

JOHN MARSTON, SATIRIST

By ANTHONY CAPUTI

Cornell University

The Renaissance poet and playwright, a significant figure in any discussion of Renaissance satire or the "satiric attitude" of the period, is here given his first comprehensive study in depth. Professor Caputi makes a detailed critical analysis of each of Marston's works and examines the major influences on Marston and his era—particularly that of Neo-Stoicism. A fascinating discussion of the child actors of the day—their theatres, their acting styles, and their influence on the plays written for them—will be of interest to all students of Renaissance drama and of Shakespeare. 301 pages, \$5.00

THE VITELLIUS PSALTER

Edited by JAMES L. ROSIER

University of Michigan

This is a critical edition of the psalter and canticles of the Gallian version, with a continuous interlinear gloss in Old English, from the British Museum MS, Cotton Vitellius E xviii.

The principal importance of the psalter lies in the richness of the Old English vocabulary, the knowledge of the glossator, and its relationship, in both Latin and gloss, to the medieval psalter tradition.

436 pages. Price to be announced.

Cornell University Press

124 Roberts Place, Ithaca, New York

The Travels of the Infante Dom Pedro of Portugal

By Francis M. Rogers. The Infante Dom Pedro (1392-1449), prince of Portugal, warrior, traveler, regent, was both the hero and the victim of a legend. Gómez de Santisteban satirized the Christian West by combining Pedro's real travels with a quest for Prester John's court and the Apostle Thomas's shrine in the Indies. Includes a full translation of the legend.

Maps and Charts.

\$7.50

Henry Purcell and the Restoration Theatre

By Robert E. Moore. A contribution to the growing enthusiasm for the theatrical arts and Baroque music, this book explains and documents fully the unique advances made in both fields by the author-composer of the much admired *Dido and Aeneas*. Each of Purcell's works is described in its cultural context and analyzed for its theatrical intentions and its effectiveness as book and music.

Illustrated

\$5.95

Emerson's Plutarch

By Edmund Berry. Much of Emerson's knowledge of Greek thought originally came from Plutarch—thence, the poet's view of fate, his interest in the Heraclean "flux," and the stoicism which attracted him after he rejected orthodox Christianity. Supporting this thesis, Mr. Berry analyses Emerson's use of Plutarch and traces the poet's changing evaluations; he shows that Emerson considered himself a Plutarchan moral essayist in the tradition of Bacon and Montaigne.

\$6.00

Samuel Johnson the Moralist

By Robert Voitle. The ideas of "the first moralist of his age" are often discussed as though they were isolated intellectual phenomena. Mr. Voitle relates the whole range of Johnson's moral notions to the popular ideas and tendencies of the time, revealing in Johnson's thinking the rugged logical consistency of a practical moralist bent on influencing conduct.

\$4.95

Shakespeare's Roman Plays

THE FUNCTION OF IMAGERY IN THE DRAMA

By Maurice Charney. Extending the definition of an image beyond the play's words to the nonverbal resources of the theatre—staging, costume, gesture, Mr. Charney approaches Shakespeare as a practical dramatist and discusses Elizabethan stage conditions along with the dramatic function of the poetic imagery encountered in *Julius Caesar*, *Antony and Cleopatra* and *Coriolanus*, plays similar in many respects, but stylistically very different.

\$4.75

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS